The geography of haunted places : landscape and imagined communities in the fiction of Papadiamantis.

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The Geography of Haunted Places: Landscape and Imagined Communities in the Fiction of Papadiamantis

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ABSTRACT

Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851-1911) is the best known representative of nineteenth-century realism in Greece. In the present study an analysis is made of landscape and place in his fiction. Departing from previous appraisals which have tended to focus either on the biographical dimension of Papadiamantis' writing, or on a formalist analysis of the author's descriptive techniques, the thesis promotes a contextual reading and bases its methodology on recent research in the field of spatial and cultural analyses. Non-verbal cultural forms, such as landscape and architecture, are conceived as readable texts which are susceptible to similar interpretive procedures.

Papadiamantis' fiction demonstrates how landscape is a means by which shared beliefs are consolidated and become intelligible to the members of a community. In the course of the study analyses are made of the metaphors of reading which Papadiamantis' protagonists apply to the landscape. Other sections deal with the boundaries, zones and property relations which are mapped out in his fiction.

Throughout the thesis the relations between community and territory in Papadiamantis' texts are explored. Chapters concentrate on analyses of the state, the church and the local village community, focusing on the contested interpretations of communality which these elicit and on the contending codes which regulate admission to membership. Thus, the church is conceived by Papadiamantis' protagonists on various levels as a national institution, as an ecumenical institution and as a series of local landmarks.

The present study argues for a comparative cultural analysis of literature. It rejects traditional readings of Papadiamantis which have tended to stress the author's

conservative religious and literary convictions. Instead, the study demonstrates how, far from merely reflecting popular attitudes to such institutions as the Orthodox Church or the Greek state, Papadiamantis' texts construct multiple readings of them. His fiction suggests that social relations are deeply rooted in a spatial and temporal system and that landscape plays a central role in the social, political and cultural constitution of society.

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CONTENTS

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NOTE

All quotations from Papadiamantis are from the *Ἅπαντα*, edited by N.D. Triantafillopoulos, 5 vols., 1981-1988. Athens: Domos. Volumes 1-3 were reprinted with corrections in 1989. Quotations from Papadiamantis in the text are followed by a reference to the relevant volume, page and line numbers. The date of first publication is given on a work's initial citation. All Greek names, except for the titles of stories, books, and poems, have been transliterated. Apart from words and proper names which have a form in English, the system of transliteration adopted is the phonetic one proposed by the Modern Greek Studies Association and published in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1986): 64-66, with the exception of the phoneme /u/ which is rendered as 'ou'. Greek quotations in the text employ the monotonic accent system, or the polytonic system, according to the original context. In the References all material is cited using the monotonic system, as are words which appear in the main text outside of a quotation. The phrase "Geography of haunted places" is taken from Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilization* (1971: 57).

INTRODUCTION

Biography, ηθογραφία and the Myth of Papadiamantis[1]

When Octave Merlier appended a map of Skiathos to his anthology of Papadiamantis' stories (1934: 305), he accentuated a prevailing tendency in critical approaches to Papadiamantis' fiction: the assignation of the author's work to the confines of a demonstrable and verifiable geographical milieu.[2] Toponyms pervade Papadiamantis' fiction, as well as descriptions of the town, the island's hinterland and the sea, thus evoking a geographical continuum through which his protagonists move. Occasionally maps are prefixed to anthologies, selections of essays, or critical reviews of Papadiamantis, thereby intimating that they are components of the texts themselves [e.g. Valetas 1940, Papadiamantis 1968, Papadiamantis 1973, Frangoulas 1975, Papadiamantis 1987, Dimitrakopoulos 1991b]. In a study of Papadiamantis' Skiathos, for example, Andreas D. Erselman catalogues the numerous place-names alluded to in the texts which are subsequently identified on an accompanying map (1954).[3] As Merlier acknowledged in the preface to his first selection: "Papadiamantis n'était plus pour moi que l'âme parlante de sa petite patrie" (1934: 43).

1.For accounts of the numerous interpretations which Papadiamantis' fiction has elicited, see Tziovas (1993) and Peckham (In Press c). For a cursory review of major trends in Papadiamantis scholarship to 1991, see Dimitrakopoulos (1991). For other bibliographical material, see Himonas (1977, 1981, 1987), Karpozilou (1981), Katsimbalis (1991), Fousaras (1991) and the bibliographical appendices in *Papadiamantika Tetradia*.

2.Square brackets in the text indicate the date of original publication, or composition; round brackets refer to the date of the edition consulted.

3.All maps cited here are included in the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

Correspondingly, Papadiamantis' stories have been praised for their documentary value; for their authoritative and intimate depictions of Skiathos and its environs. The texts are construed, to paraphrase Taine's observation of Balzac, as a Record Office, replete with topographical archives. At the same time, the publication of photographs by Merlier and Hristos Evelpidis from the Merlier archive of the island, Papadiamantis' house, and other topographical features which appear in the stories, serves to conflate the narrator's fictional surroundings with the historic milieu of the author Alexandros Papadiamantis. Indeed, many of the photographs are glossed with captions from Papadiamantis' fiction (Dimitrakopoulos 1991b).[4]

Ever since the writer and critic Pavlos Nirvanas equated the texts' narrator with the historical author Papadiamantis [1906], asserting that ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ τεχνίτης εἰς αὐτὸν εἶναι κάτι ὁμοούσιον (1979: 45), the texts have frequently been construed as autobiographical sketches [e.g. Valetas 1940, Peranthis 1948, Halvatzakis 1960, Moullas 1974, Matsas 1991]. "Nous n'imaginons rien; nous n'inventons rien", Merlier declared in the preface to his second anthology of Papadiamantis stories:

> Son oeuvre est son 'journal', ses 'confessions', qu'il faut seulement savoir lire. Il est son propre héros, qui parle à la première personne. Souvenirs d'enfance, de l'adolescence, de l'âge mûr, il suffit d'en suivre le récit pour recomposer quelques-uns des épisodes de sa vie (1965: 33).[5]

4.Similarly, Ioannis N. Frangoulas, in his brief historical and geographical guide to Skiathos, intersperses photographs of the island with extracts from the writings of Papadiamantis and Alexandros Moraïtidis [1975] (1990).

5.Despite the widespread interest in Papadiamantis' life, no authoritative biography of the writer exists. As Yeoryia Farinou-Malamatari has observed, Yioryios Valetas' [1940]

The emphasis here is on literal, documentary readings, and consequently the texts' rhetorical dimensions are, as a rule, overlooked in favour of their referential characteristics. There is also a disproportionate emphasis placed on a reconstituted historical and social context, as opposed to any consideration of narrative techniques, or close textual exegesis. The biographical approach, moreover, privileges an historical subject and construes the text as the "transcript of the living voice of a real man" (Eagleton 1992: 120).[6]

The accuracy of place descriptions in Papadiamantis' texts is frequently presented as confirmation of any biographical/autobiographical claims, while conversely, the biographical/autobiographical nature of the texts is taken to authenticate any place descriptions. Thus, while Alexandros Kotzias argues, rightly, for recognition of Papadiamantis' status as one of the foremost "Athenian" writers of his age, his justification for the prominence of an urban setting in numerous stories is biographical: the

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account of Papadiamantis is unsystematic and arbitrary, while E.I. Moschonas' [1981] remains incomplete. Both base their work on an indiscriminate use of source material (1987: 14).

6.The interpretation of Papadiamantis' texts as a series of spontaneous autobiographical sketches lends itself readily to psychobiographical analysis. See, in this context, Valetas' brief discussion of Papadiamantis and Freud (1955: 13-14). According to Panayiotis Moullas, Papadiamantis' writing is symptomatic and should be taken as evidence of the author's ungratified sexual impulses, and of an overriding feeling of impotence that derives from a dominant father and a suffocating environment (1981: νε′). This psychological reading of the author was anticipated by Yianis Kordatos, when he stated that Papadiamantis was τραυματισμένος ψυχικά. Τὸ νευρικό του σύστημα δὲν ἦταν ἰσορροπημένο (1962: 338). For recent psychoanalytical readings of Papadiamantis, see Saunier (1989/90, 1992) and for a psychoanalytical analysis of *Ἡ Φόνισσα* in particular, see Aslanidis (1988).

historical Papadiamantis inevitably wrote about the places where he lived (1992: 13-65).[7]

Although the prominence of place descriptions in Papadiamantis' writing has not been contested, the texts' emphasis on location has been more persuasively linked to later nineteenth-century literary preoccupations. Papadiamantis' work is often viewed in the context of ηθογραφία, a genre of regional realism which developed in the 1880s, as Greek fiction shifted away from the historical novel. In fact, Papadiamantis himself subtitled the short story *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο* [1891] Σύγχρονος 'Ηθογραφία (II.177).[8] Broadly speaking ηθογραφία is defined as a form of ὀνειροπαρμένος ρεαλισμός and a stage in the evolution towards full scale naturalism (Vitti 1991: 74). Thus, Kostas Hatzopoulos declared that Papadiamantis represents ἕνα ἐπιβλητικὸ μνημεῖο τοῦ πιὸ γνήσιου ρεαλισμοῦ [1913: 33-34], while Valetas remarked in a section of his critical study entitled "'Η ὥρα τῆς ἠθογραφίας", that Papadiamantis' prose is ὁ ζωντανὸς νατουραλισμός, συνταιριασμένος μὲ τὸ δημιουργικὸ ρεαλισμό:

> Μὲ τὸν Παπαδιαμάντη ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἠθογραφία παίρνει ὅλες της τὶς μορφὲς καὶ τοὺς τύπους, γίνεται ἕνα πολύφωνο ὄργανο, ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ συλλάβει καὶ νὰ ἐκφράζει τὴ λαϊκὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ ζωὴ σ'ὅλα της τὰ φανερώματα (1955: 534).

Papadiamantis' work is itself often divided into distinct

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7. Kotzias estimates that approximately 27.2% of Papadiamantis' stories take place in Athens, thus placing him, along with Mihail Mitsakis (1868-1916), Grigorios Xenopoulos (1867-1951) and Ioannis Kondylakis (1862-1920) στή χορεία τῶν εἰσηγητῶν τῆς ἀθηναιογραφίας (1992: 33).

8. For an informative summary of the changing meanings of the designation ηθογραφία and its cognates, from Aristotle through the nineteenth century, see Mackridge (1993: 173-175). For an anthropological discussion of ethographic literature, see Sant Cassia (1992: 178-194).

periods: the period from 1879 to 1885 when he composed his early novels, and the period following the publication of *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* [1885] and initiated by *Τὸ Χριστόψωμο* [1887]. Adopting Kostas Steryiopoulos' chronology (1979: 262-264), Farinou-Malamatari takes 1887 as the commencement for her own narrative study (1987: 20). Similarly, Moullas, echoing Valetas, alludes to *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* as a bridge (γέφυρα) between the early work and the later ἠθογραφικό διήγημα (1981: ις', 1955: 533).[9] The years 1879-1887 coincide, according to Mario Vitti, with a conspicuous literary shift from texts characterized by flights of historical fantasy, to a more realistic genre epitomized by Dimitrios Vikelas' (1835-1908) novel *Λουκής Λάρας* [1879]. Merlier, drawing attention to the narratorial exposition in Papadiamantis' short story *Θέρος-Ἔρος* [1891], also underlines the process of literary evolution effected in the 1880s: Ἦτο ρωμαντικός, ὡς ὅλη ἡ γενεά του, ἡ ἀκμάσα ἀπὸ τοῦ 62 μέχρι τοῦ 80 (1965: 38).

As a form of rural prose, ηθογραφία has been defined in relation to innovative trends in contemporary European writing (e.g. Mackridge 1992, 1993). As epitomized by the work of Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897), whose satirical tale *Tartarin de Tarascon* [1874] Papadiamantis translated into Greek [1894] (1991), this genre of literature centred on descriptions of local life, with particular attention to rustic manners and customs (ήθη και έθιμα).[10] Dwelling extensively on evocations of regional landscape, such texts are scattered with localisms, authentic toponyms, extensive details of time, vegetation, weather and local

9.While Steryiopoulos divides Papadiamantis' work into two main periods (1887-1896 and 1896-1911), Valetas classifies the texts into four distinct chronological sequences: the naturalistic period 1885-1892, the satirical period 1892-1897, his more lyrical and introspective period 1897-1901 and his final, harshly realistic period 1901-1908 (1955: 536, 568, 581, 602).

10.Apart from Daudet, Papadiamantis also translated short stories by, among others, Guy de Maupassant [1886, 1889] and Ivan T urgen ev [1884, 1886].

architecture.[11] In Papadiamantis' texts, for example, the narrator records such details as the latitude and longitude, directions (left, right), distances, dimensions, and the relative position of objects. The profusion of such meticulous documentary details has resulted in Papadiamantis' prose being exploited as a source (πηγή) of abundant information on local customs and folklore. As the folklorist Dimitrios Loukatos observed:

> Το έργο του Παπαδιαμάντη, άσχετα από κάθε άλλη κριτική, είναι μιὰ πλούσια και πολύτιμη πηγή για τη λαογραφία του νησιοῦ του (1941: 60).

The influence of folkloric studies known as λαογραφία and initiated by Nikolaos Politis (1852-1921) is manifest in Papadiamantis' texts [cf. Loukatos 1941, Moullas 1974, Beaton 1982, Papathanasi-Mousiopoulou 1984, Mackridge 1992].[12] Obvious examples of such folkloric influences include Papadiamantis' stories *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* and the later text *Ἡ Στοιχειωμένη καμάρα* [1904] which recalls the celebrated folk-poem "Τό Γιοφύρι τῆς Ἄρτας". Moreover, the intellectual climate of the time was reflected in the publication of new periodicals and particularly *Ἑστία* launched in 1876 and in which *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* was first published. Under the auspices of Politis, the *Ἑστία* short story competition was also inaugurated [1883]. As Vitti has

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11.For an analysis of *costumbrismo* in nineteenth-century Spain, see Le Bouill (1985: 128-156) and for an account of rural French literature and its preoccupation with place, see Chevalier (1993: 21-34). For a comparative analysis of Papadiamantis and José Maria de Pereda (1833-1906), see Peckham (In Press c).

12.The Ἑλληνικὴ Λαογραφικὴ Ἑταιρεία was founded by Politis in 1908, shortly before Papadiamantis' death. The first representative of the Society in Skiathos was Yioryios A. Rigas, a relative of Papadiamantis, and one of the writer's early biographers. Rigas is the author of *Σκιάθου Λαϊκὸς Πολιτισμὸς* (1958-1970), a document which is often used as a reference book to elucidate localisms, or regional customs which are detailed in Papadiamantis' texts.

argued, the advertisement for this competition provides the most comprehensive definition of contemporary literary trends and aspirations, summed up in Politis' conviction that literature should constitute the specific περιγραφήν σκηνῶν τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ (Vitti 1991: 64).[13] At the same time, the emphasis on the study of manners (ἔθιμα) owed much to Western currents of realism and naturalism, which Ioannis Kampouroglou's translation of Emile Zola's *Nana* in 1879 (published in book form in 1880) did much to promote in Greece.

Highlighting Papadiamantis' interest in folklore, many critics have approached Papadiamantis' narratives as repositories of traditional Orthodox Greek customs and values. Nikos D. Triantafillopoulos, rejecting Moullas' critical reading of Papadiamantis, contends that the hostile response to Papadiamantis' work originates, for the most part, in a reaction against Papadiamantis' disavowal of Enlightenment ideals. Triantafillopoulos traces a genealogy of adverse criticism extending from Gregorios Xenopoulos [1911] to Dimitrios S. Balanos [1941], Konstantinos Th. Dimaras [1948] and Moullas. In a manner reminiscent of the biographical approach already outlined, so-called Orthodox interpretations concentrate exclusively on the reconstitution of a Greek past. Unlike Vitti's historical and social context, however, the context invoked by the self-styled "Orthodox criticism" (Triantafillopoulos 1978: 14-19) is not period-specific or subject to flux. On the contrary, the Orthodox context is perceived as fixed, unchanging, and universal. Μὲ τὸν Παπαδιαμάντη τὰ πράγματα εἶναι καθαρά, Triantafillopoulos asserts uncompromisingly, ὅσοι τὸν ξεγράφουν ἢ μισοξεγράφουν, ξεγράφουν τὴν 'Ορθόδοξη πίστη του (1978: 14). This ahistoricity, moreover, extends to the texts, which are frequently viewed

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13.The original advertisement appeared in *Ἑστία* CCCXXXIII (15 May 1883), p.1. For a reprint see Mastrodimitris (1985: 269-270).

ahistorically. They are perceived as rooted in what the historians Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Fernand Braudel have described as "l'histoire immobile" (Darnton 1991: 32) and they are taken to represent "monuments of the word".[14] The emphasis is on an ethical system and the texts become pretexts for inflexible ideological interests.

In the heroic dramatization of Papadiamantis the author, there is obviously an overlap with the biographical approach. In both cases the focus of enquiry is on the text's content rather than on its form or technical strategies. As Takis Papatsonis declares: Ἡ ἀποτίμηση τοῦ Παπαδιαμάντη πρέπει νὰ γίνει μόνο στοὺς χώρους τοῦ Ἠθικοῦ κόσμου (1972: 99). Accordingly, passages such as the narrator's polemical digression at the beginning of *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* [1893], are construed as representative of Papadiamantis' authorial intentions:

> Τὸ ἐπ'ἐμοί, ἐνόσῳ ζῶ καὶ ἀναπνέω καὶ σωφρονῶ, δὲν θὰ παύσω πάντοτε, ἰδίως δὲ κατὰ τὰς πανεκλάμπρους ταύτας ἡμέρας, νὰ ὑμνῶ μετὰ λατρείας τὸν Χριστόν μου, νὰ περιγράφω μετ'ἔρωτος τὴν φύσιν καὶ νὰ ζωγραφῶ μετὰ στοργῆς τὰ γνήσια ἑλληνικὰ ἤθη (II.517.1-4).

Similarly, narratorial assertions such as the admission at the beginning of *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* [1891] (Γράφω ἁπλῶς τὰς ἀναμνήσεις καὶ ἐντυπώσεις τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας μου II.211.21-22) are taken at face value.

Often letters, personal memoirs, as well as other material from every provenance, are cited as evidence of the author's convictions. As Valetas noted many years ago, the bibliography on Papadiamantis consists, for the great part,

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14.The expression "monuments of the word" was applied to folklore by Claude Fauriel in 1824. Quoted in Herzfeld (1986: 10).

of an eclectic ensemble of announcements, poems, descriptions, anecdotes, recollections and obituaries. Οὐσιαστικά, Valetas concludes, δὲν εἶναι, παρὰ σωρὸς ἀπὸ σκύβαλα (1955: 372). Papadiamantis' saintly, Byzantine profile as depicted in Nirvanas' acclaimed photographs, or the portraits by Fotis Kontoglou and Tassos, are symbolic reflections of the author's Greekness. By the same token, Papadiamantis' wariness of newfangled ideas and foreign innovations are indications of his patriotism and conservatism. As Linos Politis aptly commented, Papadiamantis has become part of a poignant νεοελληνικὴ λαϊκὴ μυθολογία (1979: 243).[15]

Kontoglou represents the extreme of this reverential approach, equating Papadiamantis with Greekness itself: Ὁ Παπαδιαμάντης εἶναι ἡ Ἑλλάδα κι ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία (1979: 233). Neither is Kontoglou's personification of Papadiamantis as Greece's presiding spirit unusual; such an attitude pervades Papadiamantis criticism. The editorial of the *Νέα Ἑστία* volume dedicated to Papadiamantis and published in 1941, the year of Greece's invasion by the Axis forces, epitomized the author's hagiographic treatment when it declared: Ἡ νέα Ἑλληνικὴ Λογοτεχνία ἔχει κάτι ἀκόμα: τὸν Ἅγιό της (Haris 1941: 1). Similarly, the prologue to Valetas' edition of the *Ἅπαντα* declared that: τὸ ἔργο τοῦ μεγάλου Σκιαθίτη ἀφηγητῆ...εἶναι στὴν πεζογραφία, τὸ ἄξιο ἀντίστοιχο τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ μας ποιητῆ Διονυσίου Σολωμοῦ (Papadiamantis 1960: ε'). The analogy between Papadiamantis and Solomos as representative national literary figures is frequently articulated, as in Odysseus Elytis' poem *Τὸ Ἄξιον ἐστί* [1959] (1985: 54), or in the joint commemorative volume dedicated to both writer and poet (Stavrou 1986).[16]

15.Hristos Yannaras has adumbrated a canon of Greek Orthodox writers which includes Nikos Gavriil Pentzikis and Kontoglou, authors whom he considers belong to a "Papadiamantean school" (1992: 406-435).

16. See, in this context, the comparative essays on Solomos and Papadiamantis by Stelios Ramfos (1981) and Th. Behlivani (1990).

While Papadiamantis' bracketing with Solomos is ironic, given his singular lack of enthusiasm for Solomos' verse (Hatzopoulos [1893] 1991: 38), nevertheless, as Nikos Athanasiadis has observed, the multiple myths which have been spun around the author Alexandros Papadiamantis have created an emotive symbol in modern Greek literature called "Alexandros Papadiamantis" (1981: 34).

The Repudiation of Context: Formalism

Farinou-Malamatari's reassessment of Papadiamantis' narrative technique remains perhaps the most exhaustive textual analysis to date, paving the way for more recent textual and narrative examinations.[17] As outlined in her preface, Farinou-Malamatari's point of departure is a repudiation of so-called Orthodox criticism and a rejection of the documentary approach which concentrates exclusively on a literary work's mimetic dimension. At the same time, Farinou-Malamatari undertakes to bridge the polarized critical stances which Guy Saunier summed up in his survey of prevailing methodological approaches within Papadiamantis scholarship:

> απ'τη μία αντιμετώπισε [ο Παπαδιαμάντης] μια σειρά από αδυσώπητους εχθρούς, απ'την άλλη οι πιο θερμοί του υποστηρικτές, που οι απόψεις τους συμβαίνει να είναι κι εκείνες τρωτές, δείχνουν κατά καιρούς το ίδιο πείσμα και την

17.For reviews of Farinou-Malamatari's study see Mackridge (1988) and Constantinides (1989). Farinou confines her analysis to the period 1887-1910 since, according to her judgment, the prolific number of short stories produced during these two decades exemplify the author's narrative technique. At the same time, most of the stories are included in the *Αὐτοβιβλιογραφικὸ Σημείωμα* (Merlier 1934: 249-253) and are generally considered to be his finest work (Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 35).

ίδια μισαλλοδοξία με τους αντιπάλους (1987: 34).

Paradoxically, although the conclusions reached by these antagonistic factions are antithetical, often they employ similar methodological apparatuses, grounded on shared suppositions, to reach those conclusions. In her study, Farinou-Malamatari expands upon what she terms the intrinsic approach (η εσωτερική προσέγγιση) foreshadowed by critics such as Kostis Palamas [1899] and Tellos Agras [1936] and attempts to reassert the autonomy of the text.[18] She rejects extraneous data and contextual considerations in favour of a rigorous formalist reading. Her exposition argues for the primacy and self-sufficiency of the literary text (cf. Riffaterre 1973) and she largely ignores the text's referentiality. Papadiamantis' "realism" is redefined in terms of literary devices and narrative strategies. Explicitly influenced by Gérard Genette's narrative model as formulated in "Discours du récit" of his *Figures III* [1972: 67-272], Farinou-Malamatari examines the manner in which descriptions interact with other components of the narrative ensemble.

Farinou-Malamatari's study is divided into chapters devoted to narrative time, space, description, and discourse. Adopting Genette's theories of narratology, she examines the discrepancies between story (*histoire*), narrative (*récit*), and narration, throwing much light on the question of points of view. As she acknowledges near the beginning of her work, Genette's theoretical model owes much to Anglo-American critics like Wayne Booth and to Russian formalist contributions, asserting that Genette's divisions correspond

18.For another example of the intrinsic approach, see Yiorgos Kehayioglou's discussion of *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* [1981] which makes use of Claude Bremond's logical method of analysis. In the preface to a revised edition of the essay, the author expresses his concern για τη σπανιότητα ή την ισχνότητα των συστηματικών φιλολογικών «εκ των έσω» προσεγγίσεων των κειμένων του Παπαδιαμάντη (1984: 13).

to the distinction observed by the Russian formalists between *fabula* and *syuzhet* (1987: 36). In short, while rejecting so-called Orthodox criticism, Farinou-Malamatari's aim is to counter the views put forward by Dimaras (1987: 382-384), Moullas (1981: ξγ΄- ξδ΄) and others, which stress the haphazard journalistic improvisations of Papadiamantis' fiction and detect the absence of any coherent narrative strategy. Conversely, she strives to substantiate the truth of Palamas' insight that Papadiamantis' artistic clumsiness in fact constitutes a literary technique: Ἡ τέχνη του εἶναι νὰ μὴ δείχνη καμμιὰ τέχνη (Palamas 1979: 31).

Contested Grounds: Problems Arising from Critical Approaches

As Theofanis G. Stavrou has observed, "with the exception of Palamas, more commemorative volumes have appeared for Papadiamantis than for any other modern Greek writer" (1986: 86). In the preceding sections, the major critical approaches to Papadiamantis' texts have been briefly outlined. The headings under which they are listed are by no means categorical or watertight. Thus, even though the Papadiamantis scholar Valetas elicited biographical data from the texts, he remains one of the first critics to have advocated a more systematic and objective study of the author. The same is true of Merlier, whose intent was to deflate what he called the "légende" of Papadiamantis.

Paradoxically, too, a survey of critical approaches to Papadiamantis demonstrates the extent to which his champions and detractors lean on a common critical methodology. Nevertheless, however provisional and necessarily stylized such critical classifications are, their purpose is to highlight certain dominant strands in Papadiamantis criticism. It remains in this section to

examine the problems broached by these contending approaches, before outlining, in some detail, the methodology adopted in the present study.

In the first place, as Farinou-Malamatari contends, there is a contradiction in critics who elicit biographical evidence from a given work, while the work is subsequently scrutinized in the light of that extracted biographical information (1987: 18-19). Such biographical readings, initiated by critics like Nirvanas and Merlier, constitute in effect paraphrases and dramatizations of the texts. There is no attempt to examine generic characteristics of autobiographical or biographical writing in order to elucidate the assumptions underlying the automatic identification of the historical Papadiamantis with the first person narrator. Neither is there any systematic analysis of Papadiamantis' use of irony, although a recent paper on *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* by Saunier has suggested the prevalence of irony in Papadiamantis' fiction (1992).[19]

Significantly, while N.G. Politis remained sceptical of Papadiamantis' contribution to folkloric studies (Loukatos 1941: 63), Merlier himself acknowledged the limitations of any literal, narrowly documentary approach, when he commented on Papadiamantis' ostensibly autobiographical novella *Τὰ Ρόδιν'ἀκρογιάλια* [1908]: "Réalité? Fiction? Nous ne savons. Nous sommes du moins prêts à tout croire comme dans l'état de rêve" (1965: 35). Furthermore, it is ironic that Papadiamantis' texts have been construed as documentary sources when, in stories such as *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν* [1901] and *Τὰ Δύο κούτσουρα* [1904], the protagonists themselves consult reference books on mythology, as well as poetic folk anthologies (III.331.14-16, 630.3-5).

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19. Saunier's hypothesis has been criticised by Dimitrakopoulos. See his recent article in *I Kathimerini* (25.1.1994).

Papadiamantis' classification as an ethographic writer is equally problematic, raising as many issues as it solves (cf. Milionis 1992). In a revised edition of his classic study *'Ιδεολογική Λειτουργία τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Ηθογραφίας*, Vitti concedes that the term ηθογραφία is fraught with inconsistencies and contradictions (1991: 143-180). Not only is it frequently qualified by such epithets as realistic, or naturalistic (e.g. Vitti 1978: 285, Moullas 1981: ξγ) and even expressionistic (e.g. Meraklis 1981: 305), but it is applied to authors as diverse as Drosinis, Eftaliotis, Vizyinos, Palamas, Kostas Hatzopoulos, Voutiras as well as Papadiamantis (Milionis 1992: 11). 'Η ἠθογραφία, ὡστόσο, δὲν ἀποτελεῖ παρὰ μονάχα τὸ ἔδαφος, Steryiopoulos observes, adding that ἄν κοιτάξουμε βαθύτερα, θὰ διαπιστώσουμε, ὅτι σπάνια ὁ συγγραφέας ἀπομένει στὰ στενὰ ἠθογραφικὰ πλαίσια (1979: 269); a sentiment which is shared by Peter Mackridge in a recent paper on *'Ολόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* [1892] where he declares of this text: αρνείται να χωρέσει στο καλούπι της ηθογραφίας (1993: 182). "When it comes to the work of particular writers", Roderick Beaton has aptly remarked, "the word [ηθογραφία] does not in fact mean a great deal" (1982: 105).[20]

Traditional exegetical approaches to Papadiamantis' texts were based upon a recreation of the historical author as both "pilgrim and cartographer".[21] Precisely because Papadiamantis' fiction is pervaded with topographic descriptions and details of orientation, the texts' ostensibly referential and mimetic characteristics are emphasized. Yet, as Beaton has observed, misgivings remain about "whether Papadiamantis' Skiathos is really the Aegean island of that name at a given historical period", or

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20.As Kotzias asserts: εἶναι ἀνάγκη ν'ἀποσαφηνιστοῦν καί ν'ἀποκτήσουν συγκεκριμένο περιεχόμενο οἱ ὅροι *ἠθογράφος* καί *ἠθογραφία* ὥστε νά συνεννοηθοῦμε ἐπιτέλους ποιούς ἀπό τούς παλαιότερους καί ἀπό τούς μεταγενέστερους πεζογράφους μας στεγάζουν (1992: 60).

21.The phrase "a pilgrim and a cartographer" is taken from Geertz (1989: 10).

whether the extensive place descriptions have nothing to do with a real country, but constitute a transposed, interior, literary space (1982: 121). Despite his diligent reading of Papadiamantis' topographical descriptions, for example, Papadiamantis' contemporary Yeoryios Drosinis (1859-1951) acknowledged that when he visited Skiathos he did not have τὴν παραμικρὴ ἰδέα γιὰ τὴν τοπογραφία τοῦ νησιοῦ (1979: 70). Moreover, while Agras observed that Papadiamantis' texts appear as topographically precise as military field maps, he declared:

> Νομίζεις πώς, ἀρκεῖ νὰ ταξειδέψῃς στὴ Σκιάθο - καὶ θὰ τὰ ἰδῇς καὶ θὰ τ'ἀκούσῃς ζωντανά· τόσον ἀληθοφανῆ, τόσο πιστευτά, τόσο πραγματικὰ εἶναι! Κι'ὅμως δὲν εἶναι ἡ Σκιάθος (1979: 147).

Commenting on the map of Skiathos which was appended to Merlier's anthology, Agras conceded that from a literary point of view it was of negligible value. Similarly, Pentzikis once observed of some photographs showing the locations where the short story *Στὴν 'Αγι-'Αναστασὰ* [1892] takes place, that they were inadequate in helping to elucidate Papadiamantis' text (1970: 53).[22] Κ'ὑπάρχουνε τάχα δυὸ γεωγραφίες; Kostis Bastias enquires of Papadiamantis' Skiathos, ἡ φυσικὴ γεωγραφία ἀπ'τὄνα μέρος κ'ἡ πνευματικὴ απ'τὸ ἄλλο; (1962: 13).

In short, the topographical contours inscribed in Papadiamantis' text do not relate directly, or unproblematically, to the physical environs of Skiathos. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to affirm that the

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22.See Farinou-Malamatari's discussion of these texts (1987: 106-107). Geography was, in fact, one of Pentzikis' recurring preoccupations. See, for example, his *Πραγματογνωσία* [1950]. The connection between Pentzikis' geographical interests and Papadiamantis is alluded to by N.D. Triantafillopoulos when he remarks: Πολύ πρίν ἀπό τὴ *Μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκη* ὑπῆρξε ἡ «μητέρα Σκιάθος» (1986: 129).

territory mapped out in these texts pertains solely to a cloistered, introspective geography of the imagination, as Andreas Karkavitsas (1866-1922) suggested in his celebrated remark: Ὤμορφη εἶναι ἡ Σκιάθος τοῦ θεοῦ, μά ἡ Σκιάθος τοῦ Παπαδιαμάντη μοῦ φαίνεται ὠμορφώτερη [1911: 335].

While the biographical and mythical approaches to Papadiamantis *do* highlight conspicuous tendencies in his fiction - the author's preoccupation, say, with Orthodoxy, or with local folklore - such tendencies are often exaggerated or focused on to the exclusion of all else. This results in a procrustean endeavour to domesticate the texts, coercing them into conformity with an intransigent ideological context which is defined as Papadiamantis' "world". Moreover, like the protagonist's nostalgia in *Ἡ Νοσταλγὸς* [1894], Papadiamantis' texts are projected στὸ ὄνειρο τῆς πατρίδας πέρα (Palamas 1979: 36). The topographic milieu of Skiathos becomes, as the narrator expresses it in *Κοκκώνα θάλασσα* [1900]: ἡ νῆσος τῶν νοσταλγῶν (III.284.4).

It is equally misleading, however, to characterize Papadiamantis' fiction as the personal convictions of an Orthodox zealot who rejected κάθε τι τὸ φράγκικο καὶ τὸ δυτικό (Steryiopoulos 1979: 266). On the contrary, the numerous intertextual allusions to works by Shakespeare, Hugo, Lamartine, Byron, Milton, Burns and others, undermine such assertions.[23] As Nikos Fokas has remarked, some of

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23.Mackridge notes *à propos* the allusions to Sophocles and Byron in *Ὀλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη*: τὸν κλειστὸ κύκλο του νησιού του έχει διαδεχτεί η γνώση ενός τεράστιου (χωρορχονικά) κόσμου (1993: 179). The last few years have witnessed Papadiamantis' growing reputation as a translator. Numerous translations have been published, among them Papadiamantis' version of *Crime and Punishment* [1889] published for the first time in book form (Dostoevsky 1992) as well as stories by Bret Harte [1905] (Kamberidis 1992) and Mark Twain [1893] (Papadiamantis 1993). For analyses of Papadiamantis' translation practices, see Kamberidis (1992) and N.D. Triantafillopoulos (1992b, 1993).

Papadiamantis' most memorable texts such as *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* [1893], *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* [1896] and *Ὁ Ἀντίκτυπος τοῦ νοῦ* [1912] have non-Orthodox, non-Greek protagonists: a German, a Turk and a Jew (1981: 156). The notion of Papadiamantis' introverted, homespun prose and Kotzias' contention that Papadiamantis wrote only about the places he had lived, are thus qualified by the evident influence of foreign authors - some of whom Papadiamantis translated - upon his fiction.[24] The rented urban accommodation of *Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ* [1892], for example, surely owes much to Raskolnikov's boxed, coffin-like lodgings in *Crime and Punishment* - a general relationship first noted by Palamas (1979: 36) - but one that has never been studied in any detail.[25] The novelist Yiorgos Theotokas acknowledged the delusory mythologizing of Papadiamantis when he declared in a joint review of Merlier's anthology and Papadiamantis' collected letters:

> Ἡ παράδοση μᾶς εἶχε μεταδώσει τὴν εἰκόνα ἑνὸς ἁπλοϊκοῦ χωριανοῦ ἀσκητῆ, περιπλανημένου μὲς στὴν πρωτεύουσα, χωρὶς σχεδὸν κανένα ἄλλο συναίσθημα ἐξὸν ἀπὸ τὴ θρησκευτική του πίστη καὶ τὴ νοσταλγία τοῦ νησιοῦ του. Ἀλλὰ στὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ ἀνακαλύπτουμε ἕνα γνήσιο καλλιτέχνη μὲ ἀπέραντη εὐρωπαϊκὴ μόρφωση, πρωτοπόρο τῆς ἐποχῆς του (μετάφραζε τὸ

24.Papadiamantis' article *Ἀπάντησις εἰς τὸν Ζ. τῆς Ἐφημερίδος* [1891] - a reply to a published letter of I. Zervos - contains a cautionary message for comparative critics of his work: Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ λέγω ὅτι δὲν ὁμοιάζω οὔτε μὲ τὸν Πόε, οὔτε μὲ τὸν Δίκκενς, οὔτε μὲ τὸν Σαίξπηρ, οὔτε μὲ τὸν Βερανζέ. Ὁμοιάζω μὲ τὸν ἑαυτόν μου. Τοῦτο δὲν ἀρκεῖ; (V.316.19-21). As N.D. Triantafillopoulos remarks, the translations were almost certainly chosen by Papadiamantis' editors and cannot, therefore, be taken to reflect his literary predilections (Kamberidis 1992: 12-13).
25.As Kotzias has pointed out, Papadiamantis' first Athenian story appeared two years after his translation of *Crime and Punishment*, in 1891 (1992: 37). For a discussion of Papadiamantis' engagement with Dostoevsky, see Peckham (In Press b).

> «Ἔγκλημα καὶ τιμωρία» στὰ 1889, τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὁ Ντοστογιεύσκι εἶταν σχεδὸν ἄγνωστος στὴ Δύση), ἐξαιρετικὰ ἀνήσυχο, τυραννισμένο ἀκατάπαυστα ἀπὸ τὶς ἀντιφατικὲς ἀξιώσεις της ψυχῆς του, προικισμένο μὲ τὴν πιὸ λεπτὴ εὐαισθησία καὶ ἐξαίσια ἐγωκεντρικό [1935] (1993: 124).

If Papadiamantis condemned the mindless aping of Western attitudes in the most disparaging terms (Νὰ καταπολεμηθῇ ὁ ξενισμός, ὁ πιθηκισμός, ὁ φραγκισμός V.198.10), his fiction is nevertheless replete with characters such as Kapetan Markos in *Ἄλλος τύπος* [1903] who ἐσατύριζεν ὄχι μόνον τὸν κλῆρον, ἀλλα αὐτὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἔθιμα (III.594.19-20).

Farinou-Malamatari in her study of narrative technique exposes many of these contradictions. She demonstrates, for example, how the realist project reveals an essential ambiguity when it accepts terms such as "reality" as uncontentious categories; an ambiguity in fact that pervades most definitions of ηθογραφία and undermines realism's conviction in the possibility of "a language in which signs would be the adequate analogues of things" (Hamon 1982: 170). In so doing, the realist description lays bare its own rhetoricity and the manner in which it constitutes, rather than passively reflects, form.

One example in Papadiamantis' fiction is the description of the giant oak tree in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν* [1901], or Yiannios' garden in *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλοῦ* [1891]. In her shrewd analysis of Yiannios' garden, Farinou-Malamatari exposes the rhetoricity implicit in the description of place. In this context place does not constitute an object of reference and cannot be identified with a specific piece of territory. Instead, the description involves a linguistic-semiotic domain. Place descriptions, such as Yiannios'

garden, support themselves "entirely by the internal force of their style".[26] Yiannios' garden is pervaded with lavish metaphors and similes - including a six line quotation from the *Iliad* (II.154.4-9) - and Farinou-Malamatari discloses the text's self-descriptive tendency by highlighting the opacity of the linguistic medium itself. She intimates that the place cultivated by Yiannios is in fact a literary and linguistic space; "the ground of language" (Wittgenstein 1953: 118). Paraphrasing Jean Ricardou, she adds that the text ceases to be η γραφή μιας περιγραφής και γίνεται η περιγραφή της γραφής (1987: 110).

According to Farinou-Malamatari's formalist enquiry, geography is considered on the level of description, as an autonomous linguistic unit. In accentuating this disjunction between Papadiamantis' verbal texts and an extraneous context, however, Farinou-Malamatari provides an equally cloistered and purist reading of the texts. In fact, she tends to perpetuate many of the oppositions latent in the biographical and mythical brands of criticism. If, for critics like Kontoglou, Papadiamantis' milieu is an enclosed territory - ένας κόσμος κλειστός (Dimaras 1987: 383) - shored up with traditional values and besieged by non-Orthodox, non-Greek values from without, Farinou-Malamatari's approach is from one perspective equally escapist and protectionist. The text is construed as an enclosed cosmos, an autotelic verbal construct, and the critic's job is to stave off the deluge of contextual detritus which besieges and threatens to corrupt the text from without.

As Mihalis Stafilas has remarked, critics have tended to erect impenetrable walls around Papadiamantis' fiction (1980: 7), like the stealthy builders of Cavafy's poem, thus closing it off from a wider context. Running through

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26.The phrase is from Flaubert's letters. Quoted in Heller (1976: 97).

such criticism is a polarization between the literary and the extra-literary or circumstantial: between the milieu of the literary text and an environment unconstrained by conventions outside it. The literary text is consequently transformed into a "prison house" which separates the reader from the world outside (cf. Jameson 1972). Yet just as extra-literary assumptions influence the reading of a text, so the text's meaning "also inheres in the text's relations to a wider system of meaning, to other texts, codes and norms in literature and society as a whole" (Eagleton 1992: 103). "Literature is an inseparable part of culture" Bakhtin remarked, "and it cannot be understood outside the total context of the entire culture of a given epoch" (1990: 2).[27] The boundaries of the verbal text are not impregnable, but on the contrary, "the text opens continually into other texts, the space of intertextuality".[28]

Texts, Landscapes and Imagined Communities

The challenge taken up in the present study centres, therefore, on an attempt to develop formalist criticism of Papadiamantis' fiction, while rejecting a number of its claims; particularly, the manner in which it consigns the text to an untroubled arena, suspended from its conditions of production and reception (cf. LaCapra 1983: 15). The issue here is not to return to a realistic, or biographical context, but to offer a redefinition of the text's referentiality. It remains evident, even if one concurs with Maurice Blanchot that literary space is a space "dont

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27.The passage from Eagleton is taken from a review of Yuri Lotman's semiotic criticism. Lotman, together with Nikolai Konrad and Dimitri Likhachev, are critics singled out by Bakhtin in his article "Response to a Question from the *Novy Mir* Editorial Staff" from which the above quotation is taken. In the same article Bakhtin praises the work of these literary scholars, since "with all the diversity of their methodology ...they do not separate literature from culture" (Bakhtin 1990: 3).
28.Victor Burgin, quoted in Harley (1992: 240).

ni l'espace géométrique ordinaire ni l'espace de la vie pratique ne nous permettent de ressaisir l'originalité",[29] that the familiar spaces described within a literary text cannot be dissociated from the social and cultural context from which they derive. The spaces within an eighteenth-century novel (the salon, court, formal garden), for example, differ from the spatial configurations in the Gothic novel (ruined castles, monasteries) or in late nineteenth-century novels (railway carriage etc.).[30] Indeed, in his analysis of description, Philippe Hamon inquires why a particular period should choose a given descriptive theme like the garden, the romantic landscape with ruins, the machine, or the street (1982: 148).[31] It is clearly not enough to define literary space solely in terms of the relational nature of language, or the interaction of self-sufficient verbal texts (cf. Genette 1969: 45).

The aim of the present study is to approach Papadiamantis' fiction textually. The metaphor of textualism, however, will be extended beyond the circumscribed existence of the verbal text offered by the formalist-structuralist approach and exemplified, in the case of Papadiamantis, by Farinou-Malamatari. The present study is much indebted to cultural anthropology, and textualism will be broadened to include other cultural productions and signifying practices, such as landscape and architecture, which are susceptible to

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29.Quoted in Genette (1969: 45).

30.An analysis of living space as reflected in eighteenth and nineteenth-century fiction has been undertaken by Philippa Tristram (1989). She draws extensively on contemporary architecture, painting and the plastic arts. See also Marilyn R. Chandler's analysis of the house in American literature (1991).

31.See Hamon's recent discussion of the interdependence of literature and architecture in nineteenth century France. He expands on Hegel's notion of architecture as the *arche* (original) of other arts, showing how literature assimilates the concepts and vocabulary of architecture ([1989]).[(143)] The connectedness of temporal and spatial relations within the narrative, and their interaction with a broader historical and social context, also characterizes Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope. See Holquist (1990: 111-113).

similar interpretive procedures.[32] In this way, the aim is to develop Farinou-Malamatari's insights, while arguing for a contextual analysis of Papadiamantis' work that would situate it "in a fully relational network" (LaCapra 1983: 44).[33]

If Paul Ricoeur proposed the text as a paradigm for the social sciences [1971], cultural anthropology has been most influential in elaborating notions of textualism, borrowing much of its vocabulary from literary theory. Thus, Geertz focuses on the interpretive characteristics of ethnographic description. If Man is envisaged "as an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun", then Geertz takes "the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (1973: 5). Notions of textualism are extended beyond the frontiers of the formalist text to include an englobing context of practices and institutions. Culture itself, no less than human action,[34] is a legible, "acted document":

32.The semiotic analysis of cultural forms as a symbolic code is axiomatic in anthropology and related disciplines. See, for example, Edmund Leach's comments: "*All* [author's italics] the various non-verbal dimensions of culture, such as styles in clothing, village lay-out, architecture, furniture, food, music, physical gestures, postural attitudes and so on are organised in patterned sets so as to incorporate coded informations in a manner analogous to the sounds and words and sentences of a natural language" (1976: 10).

33.For a review of the various textual approaches which have recently found favour, see Martin Jay's insightful survey (1991) which traces the origins of the text/context debate through Hans-Georg Gadamer's reception hermeneutics to Clifford Geertz's notion of culture-as-text and Jacques Derrida's influential but oblique assertion in *Of Grammatology* [1967] that "il n'y a pas de hors-texte" (1976: 158).

34.In his definition of "thick description" - a notion he borrows from Gilbert Ryle - Geertz distinguishes between action defined solely in terms of physical gesture, and thick description, which figuratively "reads" the significance of action, construing it as sign. In Geertz's celebrated analogy it consists of the ability to differentiate between a twitch and a blink (1973: 3-30).

> The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong (1973: 452).

The understanding of society is thus analogous to the interpretation of a written text; and analysis for the ethnographer, as for the literary critic, involves "sorting out structures of signification" and is thus a form of reading (Geertz 1973: 9). A text, in this sense, does not necessarily connote linguistic elements but implies, above all, the act of construction (cf. McKenzie 1986: 35):

> Arguments, melodies, formulas, maps, and pictures are not realities to be stared at but texts to be read; so are rituals, palaces, technologies, and social formations (Geertz 1980: 135).

By the same token, metaphors of reading have been applied to a diversity of areas outside of an exclusively literary context; to a ritual and a city which have tropological characteristics and are decoded in much the same way as folk-tales or philosophical treatises are read:

> The mode of exegesis may vary, but in each case one reads for meaning - the meaning inscribed by contemporaries in whatever survives of their vision of the world (Darnton 1991: 13).[35]

35.Geertz's anthropological formulations of society as an assemblage of texts have had a considerable impact upon other disciplines, most notably history. In his study of the *Ancien Régime*, for example, Robert Darnton acknowledges his debt to the anthropological and semiotic approaches to culture (the so-called *histoire des mentalités*) as practised by the French school of Jacques Le Goff, and also to Geertz (1991: 9-15). Folk tales, a printer's autobiography, and a contemporary description of Montpellier, are furnished as

More recently, the paradigm of textualism has had considerable impact on geographical studies, since it has been demonstrated "that modes of rhetorical analysis, hitherto applied mainly to literary texts, are in fact indispensable for reading any kind of discourse" (Norris 1982: 19).[36] Geography is thus construed as the act of interpreting texts, "an activity much like that of ordinary reading" (Rose 1980: 124). Taking their lead from recent anthropological insights, the geographers Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, for example, maintain that landscapes themselves constitute an elaborate interweaving of discursive practices:

> Places are intertextual sites because various texts and discursive practices based on previous texts are deeply inscribed in their landscapes and institutions (1992: 7-8).

For Barnes and Duncan, the characteristics of geography are as interpretive as those of anthropology, and like the anthropologist, the geographer produces texts through his or her reading of other societies' texts, such as landscape. According to Duncan, landscape is an encoded system with semiotic properties, while geographical places are inextricably bound up with the wider cultural environments in which they are embedded (1990). Even in the ostensibly neutral discipline of cartography, the application of a hermeneutical methodology has yielded further understanding of the rhetoricity of maps, which are "ineluctably a cultural system" (Harley 1992: 232).[37]

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examples of the ways in which a society is continually engaged in reading itself [1984].

36.For a general account of postmodernist innovations within the field of geographical studies, see Soja (1989) Livingstone (1992) and Gregory (1994).

37.For a useful Greek analysis of the ideological function of maps as cultural constructs, see Pantazis (1989).

While the new cultural geography has thus drawn extensively upon literary theory and the social sciences, reciprocally, over the last decade literary critics, theorists, and cultural historians have increasingly appreciated the pertinence of geography to cultural studies (cf. Jackson 1992). Attention has focused on the ways in which literary texts interact with geography as a textual phenomenon, as well as "the representational strategies through which cultures can be invoked and inscribed" (Gregory and Ley 1988: 115). Landscape has become the centre of enquiry in this respect, since "landscape is a cultural image", or "icon", that reflects competing claims about the constitution of social order (cf. Daniels and Cosgrove 1988).[38]

Just as societies make their history, so too, do they construct their landscapes. An analysis of one society's representations of another's geography, from this perspective, accentuates the importance of geography as a cultural product "that has a history and tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence" (Said 1985: 4-5). An examination of the landscape of the Orient, for example, discloses it to be an essentially textual construct, instituted by its Western readers, the Orientalists (e.g. Said 1985, 1990, 1993). Oriental geography is thus "integral to both the

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38.As Duncan aptly observes, cultural geographers such as Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove are much influenced by Raymond Williams' conception of culture as "the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored" (Duncan 1990: 15-17). See Williams (1981). Edward Said acknowledges Williams' contribution, and particularly the correspondence drawn by him in *The Country and the City* [1973] "between the literary text and the lived life of knowable social groups" (Said 1990: 82). Said provides a similar definition of culture which he connects explicitly to place asserting that "it is in culture that we can seek out the range of meanings and ideas conveyed by the phrases *belonging to* or *in* a place, being *at home in a place*" (1984: 8).

reproduction *and* contestation of political power" (Duncan 1990: 3).[39] Here, landscape and geography are approached with the aim of exposing the ideological presumptions inherent in geographical and literary discourse:

> the Orient is less a place than a topos, a set of references... that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these (Said 1985: 3).

Far from being "an inert fact of nature" (Said 1985: 4), the landscape of the Orient is demonstrated to be a territory of interacting texts and its analysis uncovers geography's central role in a wider social process.[40]

Similarly, in his semiotic critique of the Hachette World Guide Series, or *Guide Bleu* [1957], Roland Barthes shows how landscape is a work of cultural engineering. Consequently, he strives to unmask the ideological underpinnings of an ostensibly factual evocation of Spain (1993: 74-77). Landscape is a cultural product and one that is shaped within an implicit ideological system.[41] Hence, a

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39.Said's hypothesis has recently been criticized by Ernest Gellner in a review of *Culture and Imperialism* [1993], where he exclaims that "the problem of power and culture, and their turbulent relations during the great metamorphosis of our social world, is too important to be left to lit crit". See, *T.L.S.* (19 February 1993), p.3. Gellner's comments are misleading, however, given Said's insistence on the "circumstantiality" or "worldliness" of texts (cf. Said 1984).

40.Said draws extensively on the French phenomenological criticism of Gaston Bachelard [1957], as well as on Michel Foucault's analyses of disciplinary power and spatial form.

41.According to Barthes, the *Guide Bleu* is imbued with a "Helvetico-Protestant morality...which has always functioned as a hybrid cult of nature and of puritanism (regeneration through clean air, moral ideas at the sight of mountain-tops, summit-climbing as civic virtue, etc.) (1993: 74).

scrupulous critique of the *Guide Bleu* poses questions about the manner in which landscapes:

> are constructed on the basis of a set of texts, how they are read, and how they act as a mediating influence, shaping behaviour in the image of the text (Duncan and Duncan 1988: 120).

Landscape can be construed as the transformation of social and political ideologies into an accepted "myth"; they reflect the process through which ideologies are naturalized "in the decorative display of what *goes without saying*" (Barthes 1993: 11). It follows, therefore, that an analysis of landscape provides a strategy for investigating cultural formations.[42]

The function of geography in the socio-historical processes has also been investigated in the generalized context of the nation-state. Benedict Anderson, in his analysis of nationalism in *Imagined Communities* [1983], for example, attests to the intimate relationship between geographical perceptions and "the global spread of the imagined communities of nationality". According to this view, nations are imagined since:

> the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (1992: 6).[43]

Geographical perceptions are of prime importance in the construction of the state, since social activities take

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42.For an insightful critique of Barthes' landscape analyses, see Duncan and Duncan (1992).
43.For a discussion of current trends among historians of nationalism who stress the engineered, imagined quality of the nation, see Smith (1992: 67-71).

place in a spatial and temporal network. Thus, Anderson includes an appended section in the latest edition of his book which examines the impact of maps upon the Thai and Indonesian national imaginations (1992: 170-178).[44]

Recent landscape analyses have further demonstrated the manner in which landscapes have been interpreted and constructed to devise and sustain national identities (e.g. Daniels 1993). At the same time, geographical approaches to history have also stressed the significance of landscape as an historical text which requires to be deciphered and which is central to the creation of both regional and national identities [e.g. Braudel 1986].[45] In a Greek context, a recent study of the Cretan town of "Rethymnos" has focused on the significance of place and the "management of an inhabited environment" in the forging of identity. The author explores the conflicts that arise when local identity comes into conflict with national identity; a confrontation that originates in contested interpretations of history and of the environment (Herzfeld 1991).[46]

Geography, and more particularly landscape, are intimately related to notions of community since they are "encoded texts" to be deciphered by a "textual community" (cf. Stock

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44.As Anderson asserts in his new introduction: "I became uneasily aware that what I had believed to be a significantly new contribution to thinking about nationalism - changing apprehensions of time - patently lacked its necessary coordinate: changing apprehensions of space" (1992: xiii-xiv).

45.Braudel analyses what he calls "the slowly-constructed unity" of the French state. While examining France's heterogeneity, he elucidates the networks linking the country's diverse *pays*, as well as "the elements of unity provided by its [France's] geographical context" (1989: 373). For a brief account of the importance attached to place in French historiography, see Berdoulay (1989).

46.Michael Herzfeld employs a text analogy in his description of the city's architectural space: "Like song texts...the spaces that people inhabit are actually shifting and unstable" (1991: 5-6). See also Herzfeld's "reading of village spaces" in his study of a Cretan mountain village (1988: 56-67).

1983, 1993); that is to say "by social groups that cluster around a shared reading of a text" (Duncan and Duncan 1988: 117). Furthermore, the nation-state, like any form of community, is defined by the existence of boundaries or frontiers and is based upon "a constantly practised differentiation of itself from what it believes to be not itself" (Said 1984: 12). In turn, these perimeters imply "a set of rules to determine how the frontiers in question shall be crossed and who shall occupy [the] space" within (Ardener 1993: 1). Whether applied to the geographical configurations of the state (e.g. Anderson 1992), to the disciplinary organization of space associated with asylums, prisons and schools (e.g. Foucault 1971, 1973, 1977), or to the boundaries that mark out domestic, social distinctions (e.g. Zinovieff 1989, Hirschon 1989, 1993), an investigation of the conventions of exclusion and inclusion and the significance invested in perimeters, sheds light on social "patterns of perception". It demonstrates how "the divisions of space and social formations are intimately associated" (Ardener 1993: 1-2). The social relations of the familial community, no less than those of the expansionist national community, are mapped out in the community's spatial organization; in its taxonomic codes of inclusion and exclusion.

Spatial Configurations in Papadiamantis

The paradigm of mapping has been used in a social context to elucidate social formations which are realized "on the ground by the placing of individuals in space" (Ardener 1993: 3). Often, as Shirley Ardener has observed, it is possible to detect spaces within spaces, or "overlapping universes", which require to be prised apart if they are to be identified (1993: 3).[47]

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47. In the preface to his account of the εξωτικά on Naxos, Charles Stewart adopts a cartographic metaphor to describe

In the textual analysis of Papadiamantis' work that follows, the paradigm of mapping is employed and a similar attempt is made to identify and explore the "overlapping universes" which figure in Papadiamantis' texts. The present study is not concerned with fiction "as a repository of geographical sensibility" (Livingstone 1992: 339),[48] but rather with investigating the various ways in which fiction engages with an environment of non-verbal texts, chief among them landscape. Close readings of Papadiamantis' stories demonstrate that landscape is a contested terrain. It is neither a neutral backcloth (φυσική γεωγραφία), nor a sustained master metaphor (πνευματική γεωγραφία), as many Papadiamantis critics have alleged. On the contrary, far from being "merely a reflection of or a distraction from, more pressing social, economic or political issues", landscape is revealed as "a powerful mode of knowledge and social engagement" (Duncan and Ley 1993: 229).

Landscape in Papadiamantis can be defined as an intertextual site in which multiple texts and discursive practices such as those of the state and the Church are deeply inscribed. It is a site through which different and often discordant interpretations of identity - local, regional, national, familial and religious - are negotiated (cf. Daniels 1993). Papadiamantis' texts reflect multiple interpretations of communality. Notions of regional or local identity interact with more formal definitions propagated by the nation-state. Far from being a

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his anthropological project: "Medieval cartographers marked the edges of the known world on their maps with representations of monsters thought to rule those places...In present-day Greece one may hear similar talk of mermaids, dog-form creatures, and other monstrous beings...In the following pages the *exotiká* will emerge more fully as elements of a collective Greek cognitive cartography, a set of figures that enables individuals to map and encompass the traumas and ambiguities of life" (1991: xv).

48.For examples of such an approach, see Pocock (1981).

homogeneous community, unified linguistically and geographically, the nation-state emerges as an imagined construction, the frontiers of which are unstable. By the same token, the Church is construed on a variety of levels as a national institution, as an ecumenical institution, and as a series of local landmarks. As Laurie Kain Hart has observed in a recent study of rural Orthodoxy in Greece:

> The idea of community in Greece is ambiguous, and this ambiguity is highly manipulable. The church may at one moment represent the subordination of private and familial values to the solidarity of the local community, and at another moment it may seem to stand for a rejection of the local community in favour of some alternative order (1992: 24).[49]

In Papadiamantis, versions of communality connoted by Church and state overlap, but are rarely coterminous. The texts sustain multiple and contested interpretations of communality which are "distinguished not by their falsity/ genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1992: 6). The aim of the present study is therefore to map out and describe the multiple styles in which Papadiamantis' communities are imagined. In short, the thesis examines the "symbolic apparatuses" with which the protagonists of his fiction engage, in their endeavours to distinguish themselves as a community from those outside (Cohen 1986: 2).

Beginning with an examination of national frontiers, the thesis progresses to a consideration of the domestic divisions into private and public spaces. Chapter 1 focuses

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49.Not only is the Church susceptible to multiple interpretations of communality, but as David Ricks has shown, a close reading of Papadiamantis' landscape demonstrates the complex interaction and overlapping of Christianity with paganism (1992).

on the "textual community" of the state. Taking as a point of departure both Gellner's and Anderson's notion of the state as an engineered community, attention is paid to the ways in which the state is imagined in Papadiamantis' fiction. Firstly, the state is conceived in the light of a national historic evolution and of cultural continuity. Secondly, it is defined in relation to a particular region or τόπος (Skiathos, Athens) which it encompasses. Moreover, through its bureaucracy and localized institutions, the state prompts regular journeys across its territory, thereby stressing its geographical homogeneity. Finally, the state is examined in terms of the protagonists' conformity to a "national" idiom.

While emphasizing the prevalence of national frontiers in Papadiamantis' texts and drawing attention to the contemporary Greek national ideology which was based upon its "manifest territorial destiny" (Mackridge 1992: 149), an attempt is made to demonstrate how, in a period of political and social ferment, when the issues of the Greek state's frontiers and language were hotly debated, the protagonists in Papadiamantis' texts often subvert ideas of national identity. They do so, for example, by playing off local biographies against national history, or by an ironic representation of the official state discourse.

In Chapter 2, the imagined community of the Church is mapped out. Here special attention is paid to the Church's interaction with the state and its reliance "on a scrupulous sense of place". As Hart maintains, from the vantage point of the village community, the imagery and symbolism of the Church are "intimately familiar: drawn, it would seem, from the local landscape. This immediacy is part of what gives substance to the equation of nation and religious identity in Greece" (1992: 1-7). Yet, while the Church is closely associated with ideas of national identity, the Church also

implies a more inclusive multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic interpretation of community than that of the nation-state. Chapter 2 therefore explores these tensions as they are inscribed in Papadiamantis' fiction.

Drawing extensively on the theoretical approaches outlined in the introduction, Chapter 3 considers the textual properties of Papadiamantis' landscapes. There is a recurring attention in the narratives to sight, visibility and to the process of "reading". Often analogies are drawn between landscape, or geography, and verbal texts. Landscape is envisaged as a textured milieu associated with the imagination. Indeed, in a number of texts the landscape is represented, like the sea, in terms of depth, and it is characterized by a similar instability and treachery.

In Chapter 4 the local and domestic territories evoked in Papadiamantis' fiction are explored. Papadiamantis' local geography is divided up into specific social spheres, levels and territories with both visible and invisible perimeters. Distinctive zones are joined by an intricate web of paths (δρόμοι, δρομίσκοι, μονοπάτια) along which the protagonists and narrator move. In Papadiamantis' fiction these routes often delineate the boundaries of property ownership, or, alternatively, they peter out into the surrounding wilderness; they are associated with both enclosure and disclosure.

Often stories focus on episodes of transgression, or trespassing, when boundaries are violated. Moving from an analysis of the different zones described in Papadiamantis' texts, an investigation is made of the nature of property relations and of the house. Just as encounters take place on the boundaries of specific zones, so too, the domestic locale is the site of intense social interactions. The term locale can itself be defined as:

> A physical region involved as part of the setting of interaction, having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or another (Giddens 1989: 375).

The house is projected in Papadiamantis' texts both as a constraining space which imprisons, or sequesters the individuals within it - a ζωντανὸ κιβούρι - and as an asylum, or bastion, staving off external threats.

If the infringement of boundaries in Papadiamantis' stories attests to the contingency of social perimeters, Chapter 5 analyses the relationship between social and spatial configurations, by concentrating on portrayals of the dispossessed; those wandering protagonists who literally, or figuratively, dwell on the social periphery. The presence of such outcasts in the texts serves to subvert the authority invested in social boundaries and exposes their essential vulnerability. The dispossessed, in Papadiamantis, are associated with the bestial Other; with ruins and the liminal spaces beyond the village circle around which ghosts and εξωτικά cluster (cf. Stewart 1991). Similarly, children are often linked to a twilit, demonic realm of violence and they are connected to correspondingly marginal locations.

Territory is inextricably bound up in Papadiamantis' fiction with notions of ownership, exchange and inheritance. In the final chapter land is analysed as the object of commercial transactions in relation to a broader economic geography symbolized by the traffic of capital and commercial ventures. Attention is paid to the reciprocity between money and time and their convergence in the "boundary-expressing symbol" of the community (Cohen 1985: 15). The development of a monetary economy is also related in several stories to

literacy, where the textual status of money is underlined. If numerous texts juxtapose land with money, they also explore the tension between natural and monetary production, thereby focusing on what Arjun Appadurai has called "the politics of value" (1986).

The present study explores the ways in which cultural and spatial analyses might be used to shed new light on the literary text's engagement with landscape. At the same time, it seeks to elucidate the central role of landscape in Papadiamantis' fiction. It is a two sided enquiry. At issue are both the preservation of Papadiamantis' stories from the deluge of contextual circumstances by which they threaten continuously to be swamped, and the simultaneous liberation of Papadiamantis' fiction from a hermetic world divested of its immediacy.

Although the present study acknowledges the social and historical dimension of Papadiamantis' work, the texts are not taken as channels for the transmission of historical or sociological data. The thesis constitutes a literary analysis, but nonetheless, one that pays particular attention to the manner in which the narratives interact with a context of other texts, be they written texts, landscape texts, or "social practices which have become textualized" (Duncan 1990: 23).

It is with these objectives that the present thesis undertakes a contextual reading of Papadiamantis' fiction; one that prises apart the notion of a monolithic and insular nationalist "world" to which Papadiamantis' writing has been frequently consigned. The research involves an investigation of the shifting ideological associations of nation, state and locality in Papadiamantis. In the process it attempts to demonstrate how the landscape in his fiction is far more mutable than many of his admirers and detractors

have conceded, yielding, to use Stephen Daniels' phrase, "multiple fields of vision" (1993: v).

The problems raised by a study which places itself in the interstices of other disciplines are numerous. While the receptiveness to interdisciplinary exchanges often precipitates invigorating theoretical insights, there is always the danger of a blurring of focus when concepts are transplanted from their original contexts. Certainly this has been the case with textual metaphors (cf. Jay 1991). The present study therefore attempts precarious acts of *bricolage*, drawing on textual theory as it has been elaborated in the fields of interpretive anthropology, cultural geography and history. It recognizes the risks involved in such a venture; first, that a rigorous methodology might dissolve into an eclectic contextualism, and secondly, that "an imperialist aggrandizement of the text" runs the risk of homogenizing culture, replacing the utopia of the formalist literary text with an equally restrictive alternative (Jay 1991: 10). As Richard Rorty has warned, pan-textualism has been prone to slip, all too easily, into the repressive mantle of nineteenth century idealism (1982).

Misgivings about uncompromising textual interpretations of culture have been widely expressed and this thesis acknowledges that literary analysis "is strongest when it resists dreaming of a master methodology which totalizes all of its disparate approaches into extorted reconciliation" (Jay 1991: 7).[50] In the present study Geertz's textualism is modified in significant ways. In the first place, an attempt is made to relate the textual model of culture to a general

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50.Geertz' expansive hermeneutics of culture-as-text has been challenged by anthropologists and historians who question the concept of a general cultural idiom, or symbolic "system". See the reservations expressed by Vincent Crapanzano (1986) and William Roseberry, who examines the "seduction" of anthropologists by the text analogy, arguing for a more political understanding of culture (1989: 17-29).

process of historical and social change, thereby averting the danger courted by Geertz of "aestheticizing all domains" (Biersack 1989: 80-81).[51] Attention is not only paid to the ways in which non-verbal texts are deciphered in Papadiamantis' fiction, but also to the ways in which texts are produced through a political and cultural process; in the case of Papadiamantis and nineteenth-century Greece, a process inextricably bound up with the nation-state's formation.

With these considerations in mind, a re-evaluation of Papadiamantis' fiction from a comparative cultural vantage point demonstrates how, far from merely reflecting popular attitudes to such institutions as the Orthodox Church or the Greek state, Papadiamantis' texts construct multiple readings of them. His fiction attests to the fact that social relations are deeply rooted in a spatial and temporal system and that landscape plays a central role in the social, political and cultural constitution of society. In so doing, Papadiamantis' fiction underlines the veracity of Geertz's pronouncement that "societies, like lives, contain their own interpretations" (1973: 453).

51.As James Clifford has commented, there is a danger of anthropology placing the people it studies "in the ethnographic present" a timeless present which is essentially ahistorical (1987: 121-122).

1

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES I: THE NATION-STATE

The Nation and Nationalist Criticism

According to many of his detractors, one of Papadiamantis' deficiencies is his singular disregard for the larger political and historical issues of his day. Dimaras wrote of Papadiamantis' myopic vision, of the hermetically κλειστός κόσμος which he depicted in his texts and he concluded dismissively that Papadiamantis lived ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ προβλήματα καὶ τὶς ἀγωνίες ποὺ συνεῖχαν τότε τὴ νέα ἑλληνικὴ γενεά (1987: 382). Such an attitude is widely expressed in hostile assessments of Papadiamantis. Δὲν ἔβλεπε τὰ προβλήματα, the Marxist literary historian Yianis Kordatos declared of Papadiamantis in his *Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας*: Δὲν εἶδε τὸ νέο φῶς, ποὺ ἔλαμψε στὴν Ἑλλάδα εἴτε σὰν ἀγροτικὰ ἢ ἐργατικὰ κινήματα. Σ'ὅλη του τὴ ζωὴ ἔβλεπε τὴν πραγματικότητα μὲ θαμπὰ γυαλιά (1962: 337).[1] In the same way that Papadiamantis' admirers extol the writer's ascetic, anti-materialist values, so his detractors denounce his monastic otherworldliness. Indeed, vestiges of this contradiction are evident in Farinou-Malamatari's startling assertion that Papadiamantis took no part in the social and literary life of his time (1987: 14).

In contrast to the negative appraisals of his work, therefore, many of Papadiamantis' most enthusiastic supporters have stressed the intrinsic Greekness of his writing. As Dimaras observed:

> Ἡ ἑλληνολατρικὴ γραμμὴ ποὺ ξεκινάει ἀπὸ τὸν Περικλῆ Γιαννόπουλο, δὲν μποροῦσε παρὰ νὰ ἀγαπήσει τὸν εὐαίσθητο ζωγράφο τῆς

1.Kordatos' verdict echoes Xenopoulos' earlier, mixed review entitled "Ὁ Παπαδιαμάντης καὶ τὰ «Μεγάλα Προβλήματα»" [1933] (1979).

> ἀτμόσφαιρας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ νησιοῦ, τὸν ὑμνητὴ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παράδοσης, τὸν περιφρονητὴ τῶν ξενόφερτων καινούριων συρμῶν (1987: 384).[2]

While Papadiamantis has been censured for his lack of interest in contemporary national issues, he has been construed as a nationalist Greek writer *par excellence*; a conservative champion of Greek Orthodoxy, native Greek customs and of an unadulterated Greek language. Both these divergent critical stances are often based on a biographical approach to the texts in question, rather than on any scrupulous textual analyses (see introduction). Furthermore, the dominant idealizing criticism of Papadiamantis, which is perhaps most clearly reflected in the commemorative issue of the journal *Νέα Ἑστία* [1941], should be viewed in the light of specific uses of the past. Thus, during the inter-war years there developed:

> [a] tendency to look back on the past with nostalgia and to idealize it as an Eden of serenity, simplicity, wholeness, or whatever, all by way of stressing the loss entailed in modernity and Westernization and in many cases as an escape from the the presumed bleakness and disorientation of the present (Petropulos 1978: 175).

While such an idealized treatment of the past finds clear expression in the work of numerous Papadiamantis critics who have projected his fiction into "an Eden of national innocence" (Ricks 1988: 28), Papadiamantis' detractors have, on the whole, taken these reactionary assessments of his work for granted, dismissing his stories precisely for those virtues commended by the writer's conservative admirers.

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2. For a full discussion of Yiannopoulos' "national consciousness", see Augustinos (1971: 163-209).

Rejecting the strictures of the Dimaras school on the one hand, and the mythological brand of criticism on the other, Vitti's political analysis of Papadiamantis' texts argues for the author's awareness of contemporary social issues. Ἡ πολεμική κατά τοῦ ἀστικοῦ κόσμου, Vitti observes, δέν λείπει οὔτε καί ἀπό τό διήγημα *Βαρδιάνος στά σπόρκα* (1978: 265). Merlier went further when he suggested that Papadiamantis' texts were inextricably bound up with the development of the nascent Greek state. "Papadiamantis", he asserted, "vit intensément la vie de son pays, et, plus encore, celle de la Nation" (1965: 19). More recently, this view of Papadiamantis' involvement in the political and social issues of his day, has been expounded by Sarantos Kargakos, who characterizes the author's fiction as a comprehensive mosaic of Greek social life in an epoch when: κρυσταλλώνεται φυσιογνωμικά τό νεοελληνικό κράτος (1987: 14).

Such claims are substantiated by Papadiamantis' evident preoccupation with history and his engagement with contemporary Greek historiography. In the first place, Papadiamantis was the translator of George Finlay's *History of the Greek Revolution* [1861] and Thomas Gordon's earlier volume of the same title (cf. Triantafillopoulos 1986: 111-115),[3] works to which he was introduced by the historiographer Yiannis Vlahoyannis (1868-1945), the editor of Makrίγannis' *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* [1907]. Papadiamantis' interest in Greek national history is reflected throughout his fiction, as well as in his non-fictional texts. Allusions to verifiable historical events punctuate his writing. At the same time, the presiding spirit of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), whose *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* was published in five volumes between 1860 and 1872, provides a further context for what Vitti has called ἡ ἐθνική λειτουργία τῆς ἱστοριογραφίας (1978: 239-240).[4]

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3. Although these translations by Papadiamantis have not, as yet, been published, there are imminent plans to do so. (Personal communication from N.D. Triantafillopoulos.)
4. Fotis Dimitrakopoulos remarks, that while Paparrigopoulos' opus is an obvious source in *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* [1882],

In the same way that Nikolaos Politis (1852-1921) sought to establish the intimate relationship between contemporary Greek folklore and the classical past, Paparrigopoulos treated Greek history as an uninterrupted continuity from prehistoric times to the revolution of 1821.[5] Greek history (or the history of the Greek έθνος or γένος) is seen as an assured progression towards independence and national expression. Following in the path of Spyridon Zambelios (1815-1888), Paparrigopoulos did not ignore the medieval period, but considered it as a vital link between the classical and modern eras (Herzfeld 1986: 40). Apart from establishing unity out of the Greek past, he "completed the construction of a national culture for the new state" (Augustinos 1971: 27).[6]

The impact of this nationalist conception of history on literature is evident in the announcement of the *Ἑστία* short story competition of 1883, initiated by Politis:

> ἡ δὲ ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία, ἀρχαία καὶ μέση καὶ νέα, γέμει σκηνῶν δυναμένων νὰ παράσχωσιν ὑποθέσεις εἰς σύνταξιν καλλίστων διηγημάτων καὶ μυθιστορημάτων (Mastrodimitris 1985: 269).

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it is evident that *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* [1884] draws upon Konstantinos Sathas' (1842-1914) *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία* (1868). Lambros Kamberidis maintains that Eugène Sue's (1804-1875) *Le Juif Errant* (1844/45) served as a model for *Ἡ Μετανάστις* [1879]. As Dimitrakopoulos justly concludes: "literary research has not dealt with the problem of Papadiamantis' historical sources" (1991: 537).

5.For a full discussion of Politis and the folklorist contribution to the making of modern Greece, see Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1978) and Herzfeld (1986). In Papadiamantis' fiction notions of historical continuity are explicitly discussed. See, for example, the narrator's remark in *Γυνὴ πλέουσα* [1905] (IV.20.18-21).

6.The rehabilitation of medieval history should be seen in the context of a renewed interest, throughout Europe, in the Middle Ages. Moreover, Paparrigopoulos' stance marked a sharp contrast to the contempt held by Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) for the "priest-ridden obscurantism" of the Byzantine epoch (Clogg 1992: 2).

Papadiamantis' three early novels *Ἡ Μετανάστις*, *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* and *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* are set in eras preceding the inauguration of the independent Greek state, but the question of ethnic identity is a central theme in these texts. The historical settings are explicitly linked to the contemporary situation of late nineteenth-century Greece where irredentism was the presiding ideology.[7] In a chapter of *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* entitled "Ἱστορικὴ Παρέκβασις", for example, the narrator classifies Greek history into three periods: the ancient era of paganism, the medieval centuries, and the contemporary epoch within which the narrator is writing (I.467). As the pre-publication announcements asserted in the newspaper *Ἀκρόπολις* [1884], *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* was a novel φέρον μάλιστα τύπον ἐθνικόν, while ἡ ἐποχὴ καθ' ἣν παίζεται τὸ δραμα τοῦ κ. Παπαδιαμάντη εἶναι ἐποχὴ μεγάλη (I.663).

One of the principal characters in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* is the ardent Greek Neoplatonist Plethon (1360-1452), who stressed the ancient Greek legacy of Byzantium. Plethon was associated with the re-emergence of the term "Hellenism" to denote "modern as well as classical Greek civilization, instead of serving merely as an equivalent of paganism" (Woodhouse 1986: 71). The emphasis on the undisrupted link between ancient and modern Greek culture corresponded to a geographical shift from the Roman origins of Constantinople back to the Greek mainland: "a Hellene, he thought, should live in Hellas, not in New Rome, which was Constantinople" (Runciman 1980: 111).[8] By focusing on the ambiguous historical figure of Plethon, who was "the last of the Hellenes, in the sense of pagans of the classical age, and the first of the Greeks, in the sense of modern nationalists" (Woodhouse 1986: 7), Papadiamantis' novel foregrounds the interrelated issues of religion, national

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7. See, for example, the narrator's remarks on irredentism in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* (I.618.13-19).
8. For a recent discussion of *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα*, see N.D. Triantafillopoulos' article (1992), which is discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis.

identity and geography. As one Greek protagonist remarks to another in *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν*:

> Εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτὸν δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν ὁριστικῶς ἂν ἀνήκωμεν εἰς τὸ κράτος τῶν Ρωμαίων, εἰς τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῶν Φράγκων ἢ εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Βενετῶν.
> -Εἰς τίνα ἀνήκομεν λοιπόν;
> -Εἰς οὐδένα.
> (I.157.29-33)

The nation implies, above all, a series of distinctions between those within it and those beyond its periphery. If Papadiamantis' early novels are set at pivotal historical moments, on the threshold of momentous change,[9] much of Papadiamantis' later fiction takes place on similar historical fault lines, where frontiers are contested, or have just been redrawn. The short story *Ὁ Ἀβασκαμὸς τοῦ Ἀγᾶ* [1896], for example, begins with a description of a deserted village and a ruined mosque. From the height of Barberaki the view is extensive and the onlooker can make out both τὴν ἀπελεύθερον τῆς Θεσσαλίας γῆν (liberated in 1881) and τὰ σκλαβωμένα χώματα τῆς Κασσάνδρας (III.139.9-10). The protagonist of the story, however, is an Ottoman and the action is set in the years of Ottoman rule, not long before Greek independence. Indeed, the agha of the story is the village's penultimate agha, who comes over to the island

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9.As N.D.Triantafillopoulos observes: Συνεπῶς τὰ γεγονότα εἶναι *σημαντικά*. Ἀπείρως σημαντικότερα, π.χ., ἀπὸ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς πριγκιπέσσας Ἰζαμπῶς. *Σημαντικότατα* (1992: 21). Thus, the action of *Ἡ Μετανάστις* takes place in the eighteenth century, a time of revolution, and *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* opens in 1199, the year after Pope Innocent III's proclamation of the Fourth Crusade. The destruction and plunder of Constantinople in 1204 forms a menacing backdrop against which the plot unfolds. Finally, *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* focuses on the real historical character of George Gemistus (Plethon), who attended the Council of Ferrara in 1438. The plot is enacted on the eve of Constantinople's fall in May 1453, which is fanciful, since Plethon actually died in June 1452. The narrative, however, progresses inexorably towards the fateful event and Aïma, the heroine, is killed by an apocalyptic earthquake that follows the city's subjugation.

from Thessaly. Published in 1896, on the eve of Theodoros Deliyannis' disastrous mobilization against the Ottoman Empire in support of the Cretan uprising, the nation's "irredentist appetites" (Clogg 1986: 94) are seen in the context of shifting local frontiers: allusions to the Ottoman Porte (III.140.21), to the χρόνους τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐγέρσεως (III.140.24) and the 444 years of Turkish rule (III.148.12-13) are woven into a regional drama.[10]

History, τόπος and Bureaucracy

The importance of the state in Papadiamantis' fiction is demonstrated by an analysis of the novella (described by Papadiamantis as a κοινωνικὸν μυθιστόρημα), *Ἡ Φόνισσα* [1903]. Although direct mention of Greece is made on only two occasions (III.420.18, 480.31), historical references recur, especially in the first pages of the text, and these allusions are to a national history inextricably bound up with the emergence of the independent Greek state.[11] It would be misleading to construe the historical dimension of *Ἡ Φόνισσα* as a mere narrative background, or as a suggestive subtext. The historical dimension of the text

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10.As Elizabeth Constantinides notes, the description in this text of the Ottoman Empire as the ἀσθενής, alludes to Tsar Nicholas I's famous retort that the Ottoman Empire was the "sick man" of Europe (Papadiamantis 1987: 172). A comparison might be made in this context with Stratis Myrivilis' novella *Ὁ Βασίλης ὁ Ἀρβανίτης* (published as a novella in 1943) where the action takes place on Mytilini in the years around the Young Turk revolution of 1908; in other words shortly before the island's incorporation into the Greek state (1987: 51). In his fiction Myrivilis often explores the interaction of a local topography with national frontiers. Moreover, Myrivilis was an author much influenced by Papadiamantis' fiction. See, in this context, Alexiou (1989). Papadiamantis' editor Valetas, a compatriot, called Myrivilis "the Papadiamantis of Mitilini" (Craik 1988: 65-66).

11.Petropulos provides a useful definition of the state as: "a territorially defined entity with the formal status of independence in an international context *and* a polity that serves as the framework for internal governance and relations with other states" (1978: 163). For an outline which focuses on understandings of the state through territoriality, see Johnston (1991: 187-218).

interpenetrates the central narrative of the murderess' flight to such an extent that they become inseparable.

The present section concentrates, therefore, on ideas of the state in Papadiamantis' texts, focusing particularly on *Ἡ Φόνισσα*. While special attention is paid to the ways in which the state defines itself in relation to the τόπος, the functioning of the bureaucracy is also considered. For the prerogative of the state, in Papadiamantis, is manifested through the agency of officials dispatched to specific localities (τόποι) and through the action of the numerous local administrators.

The noun τόπος occurs relatively frequently in Papadiamantis' texts, and especially in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, where an explicit mention of Skiathos is never made.[12] The connotations of the word extend from meaning "a native land", synonymous with πατρίδα and Greece itself, to signifying place, room, space, position or locality in the sense denoted by θέση or μέρος.[13] In Papadiamantis' fiction, τόπος suggests a relative position, in contrast to the fixed and formal contours of the state. The state in effect comprises a collection of τόποι, and the relation between τόπος and state is frequently conceived in terms of a distinction, or at least a tension, between the local and the national. The immediate, palpable milieu, which the

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12. In contrast to the numerous references to Athens, explicit mention of Skiathos in Papadiamantis' fiction is made, according to N.D. Triantafillopoulos' toponymic index (V.503-515) on only four occasions: in *Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασὰ* (II.356.14), *Κοκκώνα θάλασσα* (III.285.21), *Τὰ Λιμανάκια* [1907] (IV.179.22) and *Ἡ Καλλικαντζούνα* [1925] (IV.545.23). On another three occasions, the island is alluded to as Σ. (e.g. IV.57.4, 409.24, 563.21).

13. See Eric Hobsbawm's discussion of the shifting terms *nación*, *patria* and *tierra* in Spain and the development of a relevant vocabulary for the nation-state (1992: 14-15). An example of the ambivalence of the term τόπος in Papadiamantis is the story *Ἔρμη στὰ ξένα* [1906], where the noun is used both of Egypt, and the Greek island setting. As one protagonist exclaims: «Ἡ (τ'ὄνομα τοῦ χωρίου) κ'ἡ Αἴγυπτος, Θέ μου, καὶ νά 'ταν ἕνα!» (IV.78.1).

protagonists inhabit, is set against the larger geographical and historical settings which encompass it.[14]

The first use of the word τόπος in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* occurs near the beginning of the text, in the passage which describes Moraïtis' hollowed pine tree which Frangoyannou's mother Delharo hides behind in her flight from the klefts :

> Ὁ γερο-Μωραΐτης, ὁ πάππος τοῦ κτήτορος, εἶχε μεταναστεύσει ἀπὸ τὸν Μιστρᾶν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν, περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ ἄλλου αἰῶνος - κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς Αἰ-κατερίνης καὶ τοῦ Ὀρλώφ (III.419.14-17).

Here, the word τόπος is articulated in an expansive geographical and historical context. The passage defines the Skiathite locale specifically in relation to that context. The allusion to the insurrection (1770) instigated in the Peloponnese by Catherine the Great's envoys, the brothers Orloff, places the chronology within an explicitly national historical framework. The tree is conceived here as a living entity spanning human generations. It is a thousand years old, and like the giant oak tree in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν*, five human pairs of arms cannot encompass it (III.327.20-21, 419.20). Moreover, the use of the adjective τοπικὸν a few lines later accentuates the underlying tension between the local and the national:

> Κατὰ Ἰούλιον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου (1871), μέγαν τοπικὸν σεισμὸν ᾐσθάνθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες, εἰς ἀπόστασιν μιλίων, κάτω εἰς τὴν παραθαλασσίαν. Τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην κατέρρευσεν ὁ γίγας (419.24-26).

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14. *Ἡ Φόνισσα* appeared in serial form between 15 January and 15 June 1903, in *Παναθήναια*. Significantly, photographs from ἑλληνικά ταξίδια were interspersed in the text, thereby situating it within a wider, national, geographical horizon.

An island landmark, Moraïtis' tree, through multiple historical allusions spun around it and the story of Moraïtis' emigration, becomes a beacon in the overlapping "maps of the historical landscape" (cf. Schorske 1980). It links the contemporary history of the island locale with national history and with a medieval past associated with Mystras (the setting of Papadiamantis' novel *'H Γυφτοπούλα*). The tree becomes the mediating ground for the interaction of local and national contexts, both spatial and temporal. The narrative is shaped largely by the dynamics of this interaction.[15]

Frangoyannou is above all the embodiment of what Geertz has called "local knowledge" (1983) and is intimate with τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας τοῦ τόπου (IV.151.19). Familiar with all the hidden places or κλεφτότοποι of the island, which her mother has shown her (III.459.15-17, 485.4-13), she is also an expert in the therapeutic uses of the local flora. Yet Frangoyannou's local life and her intimacy with the τόπος is repeatedly qualified by the shadow of national history. The narrator asserts, for example, that if her mother's flight into the hills took place while the Greek government was at Corinth and unable to send any support to the kleftic fighters in Macedonia (III.418.21-27), Moraïtis' immigration occurred around the time of the Orloff expedition in the 1770s. A little later, the reader learns that Frangoyannou married at the age of seventeen some time during Capodistrias' presidency from 1828-1831 (III.420.23-24). She was born and brought up in the Kastro until the age of ten (III.485.12-13), while the Kastro was abandoned in the aftermath of 1821 (III.421.12-13). She is fifty-five years of age at the time of her son's arrest (III.451.11) which takes place twelve years before the commencement of the

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15.A comparison might be made in this context with the manipulation of national Greek history and its relationship to locality in Vizyinos' short story *'O Μοσκὼβ-Σελὴμ* [1895]. See, Chryssanthopoulos (1986: 202-207, 1988) and Beaton (1988b: xii). For an examination of the extensive arboreal motif in Papadiamantis' fiction, see Peckham (In Press c).

present story (III.453.10). Consequently, the main narrative action unfolds around the year 1878.

Historical allusions in the text, such as the narrator's account of Anagnostis Benidis' career, emphasize the expanding activities of the evolving Greek state. In his time, the narrator reports, Benidis was one of the island's most influential local figures (III.480.6-7). A sign of his eminence, moreover, is his participation in the embryonic institutions of the recently founded state. Benidis was a village elder before the War of Independence (1821). Subsequently he served as a plenipotentiary at the assemblies of Troezene (1827), Pronia (1832) and Argos (1821, 1829), serving as a mayor before the Constitution, and as an official posted εἰς πολλὰ μέρη after it. At the end of his career, Benidis returns to his τόπος: ἀπεσύρθη εἰς τὸν τόπον του (III.480.4-12).

In the last lines of the novella, Frangoyannou looks up towards the plot of land which she had been given as her dowry, situated just outside the Kastro and exclaims: Ὤ! νά τὸ προικιό μου! (III.520.12). Frangoyannou's inheritance is in fact mentioned near the beginning of the text, a paragraph after the allusion to her marriage during the years of Capodistrias' presidency:

> Ὡς προῖκα τοῦ ἔδωκε μίαν οἰκίαν ἔρημον, ἑτοιμόρροπον εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν Κάστρον, ὅπου ἐκατοικοῦσαν ἕνα καιρὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πρὸ τοῦ 21. Τοῦ ἔδωκε κ'ἕνα ὀνόματι Μποστάνι, τὸ ὁποῖον εὑρίσκετο ἀκριβῶς ἔξω τοῦ ἐρήμου Κάστρου, ἐπί τινος κρημνώδους ἀκτῆς, καὶ ἀπεῖχε τρεῖς ὥρας ἀπὸ τὴν σημερινὴν πολίχνην (III.421.11-15).

The date 1821, which marks the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, stands out conspicuously in the framework of national history which the text has already established.

History, here, is inscribed in the very topography of the τόπος. Moreover, the use of the phrase σημερινὴν πολίχνην recalls, albeit distantly, the earlier description of Delharo as ἡ μήτηρ τῆς σημερινῆς Φραγκογιαννοῦς (III.419.29). The implication of Frangoyannou's inheritance is clear. The protagonist's thwarted economic independence is implicitly compared to the assertion of Greece's national autonomy. At a time when the institutions of the nation state are being forged, Frangoyannou is thrown back into the abandoned past. Her rightful legacy should be the present, the νέαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων (III.426.12) which Capodistrias' presidency inaugurates. Instead, she is bequeathed a house in the ruined environs of the Kastro, a vicinity haunted by στοιχειὰ (III.424.21) and remembered with nostalgia by the old folk (III.426.11).

The noun μουσεῖον is used by the narrator twice. On the first occasion it is employed in the context of Frangoyannou's sentiments about the redundancy of young girls (III.434.11). Later, it is applied to the nest (φωλεά) of a sea eagle which resembles an ὁλόκληρον μουσεῖον ἀπὸ τεράστια κόκκαλα (III.459.3). According to tradition the eagle lived on the island for the equivalent of three human generations (ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων III.459.1) which echoes the tale of old Moraïtis' emigration to the island. The present owner of the land is old Moraïtis' grandson. Old Hadoula is herself a grandmother. Indeed, Frangoyannou is tacitly associated with the eagle, both through the bird's predatory existence and its refuge among inaccessible rocks. Frangoyannou's newly acquired house is itself described as a "nest": κ'ἐπῆγε νὰ ἐγκατασταθῆ, μαζὶ μὲ τὸν σύζυγον καὶ τὰ τέκνα, εἰς τὴν «γωνιάν» της, εἰς τὴν «φωλιάν» της, εἰς τὴν «ἄκρην» της (III.427.4-6). The parallels are manifest: in the newly independent Greek state, Frangoyannou's dowry relegates her to the sepulchral museum, or charnel-house, among the relics of an unliberated past.[16]

16.The museum as an institution is itself inextricably bound up with the creation of the nation-state, see Anderson

Like the gardener's sick wife, Frangoyannou is described as a φάντασμα (III.464.16, 499.17) who hides away from her stalkers in haunted places or κλεφτότοποι. In the description of the dowry transactions, the narrator pointedly compares the clerk's quill-pen to a gun drawn from its holster: τὴν ἐκ πτεροῦ χηνὸς πένναν ἀπὸ τὴν μακρὰν θήκην τοῦ καλαμαριοῦ, τοῦ ὁμοιάζοντος πολὺ μὲ πιστόλαν (III.425.8-9). Frangoyannou is figuratively shot in the name of the Holy Trinity. It is hardly surprising, therefore, as Farinou-Malamatari has shown, that Frangoyannou consistently misinterprets the scriptural texts to justify her murders (1987: 63). Her inheritance is death;[17] a room inside the museum, not the νέος βίος she might have hoped for (III.513.20).

The protagonists of Papadiamantis' fiction sometimes discuss national politics and local news (περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν πραγμάτων II.253.1-2) as if they belonged to largely unrelated spheres (ἄλλο τὸ γενικὸ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ μερικὸ καὶ τὸ τοπικό II.277.19-20). Moreover, the tension between τόπος, κράτος and ἔθνος is reflected in the ambiguous and relative use of these nouns. In *Ὁ Κοσμολαΐτης* [1903], a short story published in the same year as *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, the word κράτος explicitly refers to the kingdom of Greece, with its formal frontiers and seat of government in Athens (εἰς τὴν πρωτεύουσαν τοῦ Κράτους μας III.535.10-11). In *Ἡ Ἀσπροφουστανοῦσα* [1925], on the other hand, the old mother Htoukena refers to the island of Skiathos itself as a κράτος:

> Ἐν πρώτοις ἐξεθείαζε τὴν ἰδίαν κοινωνικὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν περιωπήν της «εἰς ὅλο τὸ κράτος

(1992: 163-185). For an account of the development of museums in Greece during this period, see Kokkou (1977) and for a paper which discusses Papadiamantis' reputed disdain for museums, see D.D. Triantafillopoulos (1981). The museum is further discussed in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

17.Frangoyannou's mother is named Delharo, possibly echoing the name Haros, the personified figure of death in Greek folklore.

τῆς Σ...» (ὠνόμαζε τὸν τόπον τῆς γεννήσεώς της) (IV.563.19-21).

Old Htoukena's remark is treated ironically, a fact underlined by the parenthetical narratorial gloss, ὠνόμαζε τὸν τόπον τῆς γεννήσεώς της. It reflects the old woman's subjective view of her environment and her perception of her native island as a self-contained and inviolable community.[18] From another perspective, however, Htoukena's interjection is accurate since metonymically the τόπος of Skiathos represents the κράτος. In the preceding paragraphs the narrator has sketched the state career of Htoukena's son-in-law Skabevas (δὲν ἦτο μικρὸς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν τόπον του). After pursuing a distinguished career as a parliamentarian under King Otto, Skabevas is assigned to an undistinguished position as a customs-officer (IV.562.1-9). In short, therefore, the shifting use of the noun κράτος signifies a widespread ambivalence about both the extent of the state's hegemony and the codes which regulate admission into its broader definition of community.

In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* Papadiamantis demonstrates the extent to which the state has become interwoven in the social fabric of the τόπος. For the presence of the state is not intimated solely through allusions to a national history. On the contrary, words like εξουσία, κυβέρνηση or αρχές, like the presence of doctors, local officials and police officers, function metonymically.[19] They connote a state system which is manifested predominantly through its specific parochial activities.

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18. See, in this context, Herzfeld's discussion of village community: "Glendiots think of their community as a kind of small state, and thus assimilate the bureaucratic structure of statehood into an essentially segmentary view of the world" (1988: xii).

19. In *Στρίγλα μάννα* [1902] the narrator notes that the constabulary has been newly established on the island: τὸ κατάστημα τῆς τότε νεοϊδρύτου στρατιωτικῆς ἀστυνομίας (III.394.20). See also the narrator's comments in *Οἱ Καντηλαῖοι* [1912] (IV.405.9). A number of texts comment on the passing of the old pre-revolutionary local administrative system which depended on village elders, rather than on a municipal corporation (e.g. III.386.18-19).

Throughout *'Η Φόνισσα*, Frangoyannou either ignores, or strives to debilitate, the state institutions with which she comes into contact. She sends the policemen off in the wrong direction when they come to arrest her murderous son (III.449.1-6), just as she later instructs her daughter to mislead the gendarmes (III.475.13-22). She dupes the provisional doctor who records the death of her grandchild as «ἐκ σπασμώδους βηχός» (III.457.6). She gives false evidence at the inquest over the drowning of the two children in the well (III.468.18-27) and she attempts to bribe the jury in Halkida at her son's trial (III.452.5-11). This last action involves Frangoyannou's attempt to expose and exploit the possible tensions between an individual's private and public capacities or personae. Towards the end of her flight, when she is cornered, Frangoyannou again tries to distinguish between her pursuers' local and formal roles. The narrator emphasizes this local/official disjunction when he notes that one of the rural policemen in pursuit was formerly a shepherd (III.518.2-3).[20] As she turns round, Frangoyannou notices that one of the officials is wearing a military uniform, while the other is a rural constable, since he is dressed in village clothes (III.516.30-34). This detail, in fact, inspires Frangoyannou with a glimmer of hope:

> 'Εὰν ὁ ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο «νομάτους» ἦτον πατριώτης, χωρικὸς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς δημαρχίας, τοῦτο ἴσως ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι οὗτος θὰ ἐξετέλει μᾶλλον ὡς ἀγγαρείαν τὸ κυνήγημα τὸ ὁποῖον τοῦ εἶχαν ἐπιβάλει καὶ ἴσως μᾶλλον θὰ ἔκοπτε τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ χωροφύλακος. Δὲν ἦτο δὲ ἀπίθανον ὁ ἀγροφύλαξ ἐκεῖνος καὶ νὰ ἠσθάνετο μέσα του κρυφὴν συμπάθειαν... (III.517.7-12).

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20. Ironically, however, the former shepherd (τσομπάνης) grazed his sheep in the plain and claims to be unfamiliar with the arduous mountain terrain.

The word κρυφὴν in this last sentence, echoes the motif of concealment that runs throughout the text, from Delharo's hiding to Frangoyannou's effort to reach Father Akakios about whom αἱ γυναῖκες ἐβεβαίουν ὅτι ἦτο σωστὸς κρυφιογνώστης, καὶ σοῦ ἔλεγε τί εἶχες μέσα σου (III.515.31-32).[21] The attention to clothing is also important, since it is stressed on a number of occasions in the text and serves as an index of the distinction between national and local mores. The jury in Halkida, for example, are dressed in traditional provincial attire:

> Τέλος ὅταν ὡρίσθη ἡ δίκη, ἐζήτησαν νὰ πλησιάσουν τοὺς ἐνόρκους, οἵτινες εἶχον ἔλθει, ἄλλοι φουστανελάδες, ἀπὸ τὰ ὀρεινὰ χωρία, ἄλλοι βρακάδες, ἀπὸ τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια (III.452.5-7).

Here clothes suggest local traditions and customs which become emblematic of regional Greece and reflect an ideological divide, "the Westernisers dressing in the Western fashion, alafranga, the traditionalists in the foustanella or kilt" (Clogg 1986: 61). Clothes are invested with political and symbolic significance: those dressing alafranga assumed the "rhetoric of romantic nationalism" and sought to "import western institutions", while the style of dressing of the traditionalists, "symbolized their commitment to the old order" (Clogg 1992: 41).[22] As Herzfeld observes:

> Personal dress links individuals to the social body, much as architecture clothes collective identities. Dress makes a social

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21.For the importance of concealment and sight in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, and in Papadiamantis generally, see Chapter 3.
22.On the importance of this sartorial divide in Greece, see also Petropulos (1968: 19) and Miller (1905: 207-210). For a discussion of the role of clothes in Papadiamantis' texts, see Peckham (In Press). The importance of dress and the "invention" of a national costume is well documented by Hugh Trevor-Roper in his analysis of the kilt's evolution as an emblem of Scottish identity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1993: 18-30).

> statement about the self: it disguises the intimacies of the body and presents the formalities of the social persona, thereby providing powerful metaphors for the expression of cultural tension between intimacy and display (1991: 78-79).

The social and political significance of clothes which can sunder familial bonds is evinced by the narrator's comments on Mayiako in *Ὁ Γαγάτος καὶ τ'ἄλογο* [1900]:

> Εἶχε μίαν θυγατέρα, ἡ ὁποία ξενιτευθεῖσα μετὰ τοῦ συζύγου της, δημοσίου ὑπάλληλου ὄντος, εἶχεν ἀλλάξει τὴν ἐγχώριον ἐνδυμασίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μήτηρ της τὴν ἐμίσει ὁλοψύχως, καὶ τὴν ὠνόμαζε, πάντοτε σχεδόν, «ἡ Φράγκισσα». (III.249.16-19)

Since Frangoyannou is herself from an outlying island, a μικρόν, ἀπόκεντρον τόπον (III.480.30-31) "située aux confins du tout jeune état grec" (Merlier 1965: 24), she attempts to get the better of the state by endeavouring to manipulate provincial loyalty; by driving a wedge between the τόποι and the state as reflected in the judicial system. In contrast, the official uniform worn by the police officer who carries his truncheon inscribed with the words *Ἰσχὺς τοῦ Νόμου* (III.476.7) represents the state. Twice, towards the end of *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, therefore, Frangoyannou tries to separate the individual from the citizen of the state.[23] Yet when

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23.The state is frequently associated with anonymity. See, for example, the narrator's comments about the fate of the musician Filaretos who dies in Athens: ἄγνωστος εἰς μίαν ἀφανῆ γωνίαν τοῦ λαμπροτέρου πολυανδρίου τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος (III.379.7-8). In the comic tale *Ὁ Πανταρώτας* [1891], Barba Alexis invents the existence of a partner in order to conform to official requirements which stipulate that a a sailor cannot put to sea on his own. Although not a real person, Pantarotas nevertheless figures as a name on an official list. The tension between official and local identities is also reflected in the prevalent distinction between nicknames and formal, baptismal names used in registers for administrative purposes (cf. *Βαρδιάνος στὸ σπόρκα*, *Τὰ Δύο τέρατα* [1909] etc.). As the narrator remarks

Frangoyannou identifies one of her pursuers as a young man who suffers from asthma (and who had asked her son-in-law to approach her on his behalf for help), she also recognizes that she can expect no pity, since: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμνε τὸ καθῆκόν του (III.501.30-31). In the narrative's denouement, Frangoyannou is startled to see that the two men catching up with her from behind are not the policeman and the rural constable, who she had observed previously, but ὁ εἷς στρατιωτικός, ὁ ἄλλος πολίτης (III.519.17). Moreover the πολίτης is wearing European dress: ἐφόρει φράγκικα (III.519.20).

Throughout the text Frangoyannou attempts to evade authority by exploiting the ambiguous ground between τόπος and state. Like Delharo who slips inside Moraïtis' hollowed pine tree, Frangoyannou attempts to find refuge in a potential cavity between the local and the national. Her inability to do so is a measure of the state's interpenetration with the τόπος. Significantly, those who connive with Frangoyannou in her escape from the law are the goat-herds like Kabanahmakis, or Yiannis Liringos, who inhabit the island's remotest territory, out of touch with the town (III.490.2-3). Or for that matter, Marousa, who is an Ἑβραιοπούλαν, ἢ κατ'ἄλλους Τουρκοπούλαν (III.480.11). As the narrator emphasizes: δὲν εἶχε γεννηθῆ εἰς τὸν τόπον (III.480.36).

Towards the end of her flight, Frangoyannou gazes across the sea and dreams of being rescued in a boat by τοὺς νέους ἁλιεῖς, τοὺς πατριώτας της:

> Καὶ ποῦ θὰ ἐπήγαινε;...Ὤ, βέβαια στὰ πέρα χώματα, στὰ μέρη τ'ἀντικρινά, στὴν μεγάλη στεριά...(III.513.18-19)

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in *Ὁ Σημαδιακὸς* [1889]: εἰς τὴν μικρὰν ἐκείνην φιλοσκώμμονα κοινωνίαν, ὅπου πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, πρὸς τῷ οἰκογενειακῷ ὀνόματι, ὅπερ μόνον εἰς τοὺς ἐπισήμους καταλόγους τῆς δημαρχίας ἀπαντᾶται, προικίζεται τοὐλάχιστον μὲ δύο ἢ τρία προσωνύμια (II.104.28-30). For a discussion of nicknames in Greece, see Herzfeld (1988: 234-237).

Frangoyannou's rhetorical question and her hesitant reply, intimate her own recognition of the fact that there is nowhere left to run to. The island does not represent a break with the mainland but a political extension, since both are incorporated within the formal frontiers of the Greek kingdom. As one protagonist, an emigrant gypsy from the mainland, queries in *Τρελὴ βραδιὰ* [1901]: Δὲν εἶν' ἐδῶ λευθεριά, τζάνεμ; Τὸ ἴδιο, ὅπως στὸ Βόλο, εἶναι κ'ἐδῶ; (III.325.32-33). The noun πατριώτης is thus ambiguous, since it connotes both a regional and a general affiliation. Frangoyannou is not only hemmed in by the constricting topographical features of the island. She is equally restrained by the geographical configurations of the state;a situation that recalls the fate of her son Mouros who has been locked away by the state judiciary inside the prison of Halkida. The shouts let out by Frangoyannou's pursuers are φωναὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βεβαίας νίκης (III.520.1-2): the triumph of the κράτος over the τόπος. An ironic reflection of this victory is the name of the protagonist herself: Frangoyannou ("alafranga"). Another irony is the fact that the state is represented by European clothes, while the national costume is that of the provinces.[24]

The boundaries of the ἔθνος and κράτος are not contiguous (just as the state system is not always coterminous with the societal system) and it becomes apparent that even such ostensibly innocuous details as dress "are components of the contest over the past" (Herzfeld 1991: 79). From this perspective *Ἡ Φόνισσα* might be read as an implicitly anti-nationalistic text, if the term nationalism is defined along the lines proposed by Gellner as "a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" (1993: 1). Tensions between ἔθνος and κράτος, λαός and

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24.Given the growth of the cult of motherhood during this period, which arose partly out of the stimulus it received from the resurgence of Greek nationalism, there is a further irony in the murderess being a mother and grandmother. In fact *Ἡ Φόνισσα* could be read as a text which consistently subverts the political symbolism of "Mother Greece striving to unite with her Daughter and Sister Regions" (cf. Sant Cassia 1992: 244).

εξουσία are conspicuous in Papadiamantis stories such as *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*, where the narrator draws a distinction between the general population (λαός) and the state representatives (αρχές, εξουσία) who wield the power and impose the quarantine:

> Καὶ τί φταίει ὁ λαός, καθὼς εἶπες; Ἡμεῖς ἐξουσία δὲν εἴμαστε γιὰ νὰ λάβωμε μέτρα. Καὶ ἂν σᾶς ἀφήνη τὸ Κουβέρνο νὰ πεθάνετε τῆς πείνας, καὶ δὲν σᾶς δίνη βοήθεια, τί φταίει τὸ χωριό μας, τί σᾶς φταίει ὁ πτωχὸς λαός; (II.632-633).

Similarly, in *Νεκρὸς ταξιδιώτης* [1910], the narrator describes the strategy employed by the εξουσία to extort information from locals by invoking the idea of national loyalty: «Ὅλοι Ρωμιοὶ εἴμαστε» (IV.346.24-25).

The power of the state, in Papadiamantis, is manifested through the agency of officials sent out to specific localities and through the activities of the numerous local administrators. There is an overlap here, since many of the state's regulations "are administered through the structure of village authority" (Campbell 1964: 238). In certain texts, such as the late sketch *Τὸ Ψοφίμι* [1906], the state apparatus and excessive bureaucracy are blatantly satirized, the body politic being likened here to the rotting carcass of a dog.[25] Similarly, local elections are described ironically in texts such as *Δημαρχίνα νύφη* [1912]. *Οἱ Χαλασοχώρηδες* [1892] contains trenchant criticism of the pervasive bribery and cliental relations that infect local Greek politics. National politics is construed as a corrosive force, inimical to communal and familial bonds, hence the sobriquets Χαλασοχώρηδες and ἀνδρογυνοχωρίστρες

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25. The inadequacies or limitations of governmental investment in local provisions are also noted. See, for example, the story *Ἄνθος τοῦ Γιαλοῦ* [1906], where the narrator observes of a light seen from the shore that it cannot be a lighthouse since: Ἡ Κυβέρνησις δὲν εἶχε φροντίσει δι' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα εἰς τὰ μικρὰ μέρη, τὰ μὴ ἔχοντα ἰσχυροὺς βουλευτάς (IV.152.2-3).

(II.421.1-3) used of the contending political parties. Each of the candidates standing for the island in the elections claims to be acting for the benefit of the έθνος: διὰ νὰ ὑπηρετήση τὰ γενικὰ τοῦ ἔθνους συμφέροντα (II.428.22-23). As the narrator remarks ironically of one of the protagonists, Manolis Polihronos:

> Δὲν ἐξελέχθη αὐτὸς βουλευτὴς διὰ νὰ τρέχη διὰ τὲς δουλειὲς τῶν ἐκλογέων, κάθως ἄλλοι, ἐξελέχθη διὰ τὰ γενικὰ συμφέροντα τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Καὶ ὄχι μόνον τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ὅλου. Τί λέγει τὸ Σύνταγμα; «Ἕκαστος βουλευτὴς ἀντιπροσωπεύει ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ὄχι μόνον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐξ ἧς ἐκλέγεται» (II.411.31-35).

As in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, clothes act as an index of mores, the five candidates dressing φραγκοφορεμένοι (II.429.28). Local politics and interests are conceived here in the light of national politics and often local dignitaries, like the new mayor in *Ἡ Ἄκληρη* [1905], are satirized in their frustrated attempts to imitate the grandiose schemes - μεγάλα ἔργα (IV.386.12) - being implemented in the city (IV.49.7-10).

For the most part, the state does not appear as a monolithic entity in Papadiamantis. Instead, the existence of the state is approached obliquely in terms of its "processes", which in turn are intimated through the multiple references to state functions such as taxation, or the judiciary. The numerous civil servants who people the texts stand in a metonymical relationship to the state, which they support. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, for example, the narrator alludes to a host of other officials besides the police officers who hunt down Frangoyannou: the public prosecutor and his secretary, the judge at the court in Halkis, the medical student who fills out the burial certificate, Dr M. who certifies the death of the two girls in the well, the justice of the peace and his

deputy, the police bailiff, as well as the mayor and sergeant. Apart from the descriptions of the judiciary, there is also an explicit reference to taxation and the political centralism of the newly liberated Greek state:

> ὁ Σουλτάνος Μαχμοὺτ ἐχάρισε, καθὼς λέγουν, τὰ «Διαβολονήσια» εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κ'ἔκτοτε ἔπαυσαν νὰ εἶναι ἀσύδοτα. Τὴν πλιατσικολογίαν διεδέχθη ἡ φορολογία, καὶ ἔκτοτε ὅλος ὁ περιούσιος λαὸς ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ δουλεύῃ διὰ τὴν μεγάλην κεντρικὴν γαστέρα, τὴν «ὦτα οὐκ ἔχουσαν» (III.420.17-20).

On several occasions the narrator in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* alludes to the changes that have ensued as a consequence of the island's incorporation into the independent Greek state. As the influence of the state bureaucracy centred on Athens grows, so, commensurately, does it intensify its pull over the countryside, expanding into the newly subsumed territories and encouraging increasing social and geographical mobility (cf. Sant Cassia 1992: 11). Paradoxically, if the state is defined as a container with finite national frontiers, it is also characterized in terms of mobility and flexibility:

> Κατ'ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν, μαζὶ μὲ τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τοῦ ἐμπορίου καὶ τῆς συγκοινωνίας, εἶχαν ἀρχίσει νὰ ξανοίγουν κάπως καὶ τὰ ἤθη εἰς τὸν μικρόν, ἀπόκεντρον τόπον. Ξένοι ἐρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὰ «πλέον πολιτισμένα», εἴτε ὑπάλληλοι τῆς κυβερνήσεως, εἴτε ἔμποροι, ἐκόμιζον νέας, ἐλευθέρας θεωρίας περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων. (III.480.29-33)

The word ξένος in this passage is used explicitly to refer to fellow Greek citizens who have emigrated from other parts of the kingdom. The state is also construed as promoting

what Anderson has called "pilgrimages". These are the secular pilgrimages of the officials through the state; a reflection of the "countless, ceaseless travels" upon which the state depends for its internal cohesion (Anderson 1992: 55). In fact, the discourse of mapping provided "the paradigm which both administrative and military operations worked within and served".[26] Many of the pilgrimages described in Papadiamantis' texts concern the formal movement of officials around the state. Lialio's husband in *Ἡ Νοσταλγὸς*, for example, is continually stationed around Greece:

> Ἀλλ' ἐνόσῳ ἔμενε μακρὰν τοῦ τόπου τῆς γεννήσεώς του, ὑπηρετῶν παντοῦ ὅπου ἡ Κυβέρνησις ἤθελε τὸν μεταθέσει ὡς οἰκονομικὸν ὑπάλληλον, τὸ Λιαλιὼ δὲν ὑπέφερε πολύ. Ἔμενε πλησίον τῶν γονέων της, ἀδυνατοῦσα ν' ἀκολουθήσῃ τὸν κὺρ Μοναχάκην εἰς τὰς ἀθιγγανικὰς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιπλανήσεις, ὅπου ἐκάστοτε τὸν ἐπετοῦσαν, καθὼς ἔλεγεν ὁ ἴδιος, «σὰν παλιόβαρκα, μπάτει ἀπὸ δῶ, μπάτει ἀπὸ κεῖ» (III.54.15-21).

If Father Sisonis in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* has travelled to Smyrna, under Capodistrias' government ἐδίδασκεν εἰς διάφορα σχολεῖα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα (III.261.13-15). In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, the doctor who certifies the little girl's death is an ex-medical student living on the island, since the Bavarian Dr B. has been sent to Delos by the Home Office and the temporary health officer, whom the government had sent as a locum tenens, has not yet arrived:

> Εἶχεν ἀκουσθῇ καὶ πάλιν χολέρα εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τὸ ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Ἐσωτερικῶν συνήθιζε ν' ἀποστέλλῃ κατ' ἐκλογὴν τὸν ἰατρὸν τοῦτον εἰς τὴν διεύθυνσιν τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ λοιμοκαθαρτηρίου (III.456.27-31).

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26. Thongchai Winichakul, quoted in Anderson (1992: 174).

Similarly, Benidis is dispatched around the kingdom on administrative duties, after the implementation of the Constitution (III.480.10-11).[27]

As in *Ἡ Νοσταλγὸς*, where the comic simile of Lialio's husband as an old boat blown around Greece contrasts with Lialio's own attempt to sail back to her native island - only twelve miles distant - the official's ambulatory progress around the state is contrasted to the local expeditions of the islanders. As the title of the short story *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον* [1891] suggests, this text focuses precisely on the interaction between the local community (τὸ χωρίον) and the wider entity of the state which is associated with the city, the noun πολιτισμὸς being a cognate with the noun for city.[28] Indeed, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, the ὑπάλληλοι τῆς κυβερνήσεως are described, ironically, as τὰ «πλέον πολιτισμένα» (III.480.32). In the description of Thanasis Moreyios' tavern, the narrator explicitly juxtaposes the indigenous island population, or ἐντόπιοι, against the state-appointed functionaries or ὑπάλληλοι (II.242.27, 17). This tension between local and national citizenship is subsequently underscored in the concluding lines of the narrative, when the secretary from the justice's office catches sight of Barba Steryios in a funeral procession and inquires from one of the local inhabitants (ἐντόπιος) what he is doing there (II.256.27-30).

The functionaries, such as the secretary from the justice's office and the doctor, are civil servants appointed by a

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27.Numerous texts focus on internal migration within the Greek state ; see for example the story *Μὲ τὸν πεζόβολο* [1907], where the narrator observes that children of wealthy families come from the mainland with their nannies to spend the summer months on the island (IV.200.24-26).
28.For a discussion of the term πολιτισμὸς in nineteenth century Greece, see Sant Cassia (1992: 48). In Papadiamantis the term is associated, not only with state employees and members of the professional classes, but more generally, with money. See, for example, the description of Grigoris in *Ἡ Τύχη ἀπ' τὴν Ἀμέρικα* [1901] (III.342.23).

central government in Athens. Moreover, the narrator underlines the state sponsored "pilgrimages" around the nation. Thus, the secretary of the justice of peace, Aristidis Manganopoulos, εἶχεν ἐκσφενδονισθῆ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τοῦ ὑπουργείου (ἦτο περὶ τὸ 188...) ἀπὸ τὸ ἓν ἄκρον τοῦ Βασιλείου εἰς τὸ ἄλλο (II.245.15-17). The doctor ἦτο ἀπόφοιτος τοῦ ἐν 'Αθήναις πανεπιστημίου (II.245.27) and although he had the means, chose not to pursue his studies in Europe. Even the central protagonist Barba Steryios, εἰς τὴν νεότητά του ὑπῆρξε δεκανεὺς ἐν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ εἶχε ζήσει ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη εἰς διαφόρους πόλεις τῆς 'Ελλάδος (II.246.16-18).[29]

Throughout the text, the narrator also stresses the hazardous weather conditions and the clogged channels of communication intimated by descriptions of the snow and the shuttered houses. Visibility is poor and as one of the cardplayers gets up to peer through the window: σχεδὸν δὲν ἔβλεπε τίποτε, εἰμὴ ἓν ἀχανὲς ὑπόλευκον φαιόν (II.244.4-5). In contrast to the relative ease with which the state functionaries circulate within the formal peripheries of the state, movement in the village is obstructed. It is more effortless to pass from one end of the kingdom to the other, than to traverse the village.

At the same time, the metaphor of illness which is used of the new imported fashion for cardplaying, echoes the literal illness of Barba Steryios' child: εἶχε κολλήσει καὶ ἡ ψώρα αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον, νὰ μάθουν οἱ νέοι νὰ παίζουν χαρτιά (II.242.15-16). In fact, both these "diseases" are inextricably bound up, as Steryios' addiction to the cardplaying delays help from reaching the child. Moreover, the mother and the dying child in their home are poignantly juxtaposed against Steryios in the shop with the

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29.On the significance of Steryios' military career, see Kitromilides who observes: "The regular army, once created, became a mechanism of socializing into the political culture of the new state" (1990: 162). Kitromilides points to the importance of the army's socializing process as described in *'Η Στρατιωτική Ζωή ἐν 'Ελλάδι* [1870]. See also Koliopoulos (1987: 103).

local officials (II.249-252). The mother is associated with traditional village activities - with laments, folk songs and Orthodox piety - while the shop is associated with money and indirectly, through its functionaries, with the state. The image of the spluttering oil lamp in front of the icon (II.250.22-23) therefore becomes emblematic of the struggle enacted in *Ὁ πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, as does the name of the dying child: Eleftheris (Freedom). The name Eleftheris is doubly ironic, since it echoes the government functionaries who ἐκόμιζον νέας, ἐλευθέρας θεωρίας περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων (III.480.33). Village life is buried under a white shroud, while ensconced inside the shop, the state remains absorbed in its money-game (see Chapter 6).

Geography and Language

As David Weinberg observed in his analysis of Papadiamantian prose, while much of the reader's knowledge of Papadiamantis' characters derives from events and situations detailed in the narratives, individualized speech is also an important component of characterization. Contrary to critics who have argued that Papadiamantis' prose demonstrates a resistance to any kind of foreign intrusions (e.g. Fotiou 1992), Weinberg observes that in Papadiamantis' prose:

> Demotic contraction and elision replace ancient formula and formal forms. There is a profusion of idiom and proverb. There is a dialect and imitation of dialect. Foreign derivation - Serbian, Turkish, Albanian and others - words, anathema to the purist, are often preferred to the Greek words of identical meaning (1978: 64).

If Papadiamantis' eclectic prose reflects an "historical spectrum" of ancient, biblical, Byzantine and modern words (Weinberg 1986: 112), it also reflects a wide geographical diversity. In fact, the inextricable relationship between geography and language was a recurrent preoccupation in nineteenth-century Greek historiography and literature. Provoked by the Austrian historian Jacob Fallmerayer's (1790-1861) thesis which cast aspersions upon the racial and cultural homogeneity of the Greeks, historians such as Paparrigopoulos argued for the geographical and historical distinctness of Greece, largely in terms of linguistic continuity.

The theme of linguistic origins and of geographical placement is dramatized by Papadiamantis in his narrator's comic portrayal of the δημοδιδάσκαλος at the beginning of *Στὴν 'Αγι-'Αναστασὰ*.[30] With a passion for etymology, the schoolteacher traces the morphology of words back to their Greek origins, construing history exclusively as a linguistic phenomenon:

«Τὸ *ἄιντε* εἶναι ἀπ'τὸ *ἄγε δή*, τὸ *ἀρή*, κλητικὸν ἐπιφώνημα τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ τόπου, εἶναι ἀπ'τὸ *ἀρίστη*, τὸ *βρὲ* εἶναι ἀπ'τὸ *μῶρε* - (μωρὲ-μ'ρὲ-μβρὲ-μπρὲ) βρέ». Κ'ἐξετόξευε κεραυνοὺς ἀγανακτήσεως κατ'ἐκείνων οἵτινες ζητοῦσι τουρκικὴν παραγωγὴν διὰ τὰς λέξεις, ἐνῷ εἶναι τόσον εὔκολον, ἔλεγε, ν'ἀνευρίσκωμεν παντοῦ ρίζαν ἑλληνικήν (II.343.11-15).

30.Another comic example of the issue of linguistic origins occurs in *'Η Βλαχοπούλα* [1892], where Pavlos Valentios, a student of philology, has a penchant for tracing the origins of Albanian words back to their ancient Greek roots (II.368.16-19). In this text, the narrator describes how, when she moves to Athens, Flora adopts new clothes and assumes a new language (II.364.27-28). The comedy lies, here, in the flippant equation of speech with apparel. For a discussion of the metaphor of language as clothing, see Herzfeld (1989: 100).

The date given in the first sentence of the story, 1875, is indicative, being the year in which Nikolaos Konemenos (1832-1907) published his second monograph on the Greek language, arguing in favour of a national demotic Greek idiom. In Papadiamantis' text, the etymological origin of a word is explicitly linked to the ambiguous historical origins of the ruins known as Prii. Archaeological remains, the text intimates, operate as signs that evoke an historical past, just as colloquial speech contains vestigial linguistic forms buried beneath its verbal surface. One of the archaeologists who visits the location, for example, contends, on semantic grounds, that the ruins are most likely to be of a Venetian castle (πύργος), since the toponym assuredly derives from the noun *Πυργί* (II.343.7-8).

Each of the archaeologists who examines the site identifies the remains differently: as a pagan temple, a Christian church, a Roman bath, a nobleman's mansion, and a Venetian castle. These reductive interpretations are further undermined by the narrator, when he remarks that the pedagogue's etymological gloss overlooks an important consideration: ὅτι τὸ ἐρείπιον ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἁγία Ἀναστασιά (II.347.2-3). In his description of the ruins, the narrator stresses their mythic associations. The relics of the Byzantine church are juxtaposed against the hewn blocks of marble that resemble prehistoric, Pelasgian remains (II.347.3-8). Even the origin of the name Anastasia is disputed, alluding perhaps to Persephone, to the pagan deity Hecate who is linked with sorcery, or to the Christian saint known as ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια (II.347.19-27).[31] Indeed, the

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31.The associations of the ruin with a prehistoric past, and with Hecate, are also mentioned in the later story *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* [1900] (III.305.10, 307.22). Apart from a passing reference in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* [1892] (II.289.28), the name Anastasia does not appear elsewhere in Papadiamantis. Similarly, these are the only two mentions of Hecate in his writing. Surprisingly, in his analysis of *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* Saunier mentions the appearance of the pagan deity (1989/90: 146), but makes no connection with these earlier references. By contrast, he annotates in some detail the repetition of the name Mahoula (1989/90: 146-152).

narrator evokes the possibility of an etymological link (σχέσιν ἐτυμολογικήν) between the name Φαρμακολύτρια and the epithet φαρμακίς , used of Hecate (II.347.19-23). The narrator further emphasizes the ambiguity of the saint's identity when he asserts that: ὑπάρχουσι δύο Ἅγιαι Ἀναστασίαι, ἡ Ρωμαία καὶ ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια (II.347.26-27). Finally, according to the belief of the local goat-herds, the name is synonymous with the noun Ἀνάστασις (II.348.5). Here, then, the diachronism of the Greek idiom is shown to be inextricably bound up with the sedimented historical underlayers that constitute a locality.

For the archaeologists, the focus is on landscape as a "monument" and the ruins are perceived entirely in terms of their origins. In contrast, however, Yiannis Koutris' determination to celebrate Easter at Prii draws attention to landscape as social practice. Moreover, through his reflections on the historical evolution of the site, the narrator intimates that the ruins can never be "frozen" in history, since they are involved in a process of continuous appropriation (cf. Bender 1993b: 269-270).

The contested historical interpretation of the landmark, as well as the disputed etymological origins of its name, in *Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασὰ*, are consistently linked to notions of geographical disorientation. Firstly, the narrator recounts the tale of an intransigent ass and its rider who appear from the opposite direction than the one anticipated: ἐρχόμενον ὄχι ἐκ δυσμῶν, ἀπ'ἐκεῖ ὁποὺ τὸν ἐπερίμεναν ὅλοι νὰ ἐμφανισθῇ, ἀλλ'ἐξ ἀνατολῶν, ἀπὸ τὸ ἀντίθετον μέρος (II.345.4-6). Secondly, the narrator implicitly connects this early episode to the confusion experienced by Yiannis Koutris when his rival, Yioryis, unexpectedly arrives to celebrate the Easter liturgy in the church of Panayia Doman. The consequence of the controversial archaeological assessment of the ruins, as well as the geographical disorientation in *Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασὰ*, is to undermine the pedagogue's uncompromising and absurd etymological

assertions. As Ricks has observed, "Papadiamantis rejects no part of the Greek linguistic past, just as he rejects no part of its material past, especially in the religious sphere" (1992: 174). By deflating the findings of the archaeologists who have been invited on the expedition by the town's mayor (II.343.16), the narrator also undermines the equations of authority with authenticity and antiquity. Instead, history is revealed as an indeterminate and contested terrain.

Γλῶσσα καὶ θρησκεία εἶναι τὰ κυριώτερα γνωρίσματα ἔθνους, Papadiamantis remarked in an essay entitled *Γλῶσσα καὶ κοινωνία* [1907] (V.290.23). In this article, Papadiamantis touches upon the etymology and grammatical forms of specific words which appear in the contemporary Greek press; moreover, he draws attention to the inconsistencies between colloquial and written Greek. As Valetas remarked, the 1907 treatise is evidence of Papadiamantis' engagement with the so-called γλωσσικό ζήτημα and reflects the degree to which he had thought through his own linguistic position (1955: 458). Drawing attention to the arrival of the international language of Esperanto in Greece (invented in the late 1880s by the Polish physician L.L.Zamenhof), which claimed to reduce national languages "to the domestic and sentimental role of dialects" (Hobsbawm 1992: 38), Papadiamantis also focuses on the relationship between Greek and foreign languages (V.290.16-17). He illustrates his argument with the spatial metaphor of a closed building which foreign influences must inevitably infiltrate:

> Ἐὰν κλείσῃ τις τὴν θύραν, θὰ εἰσέλθῃ διὰ τῶν παραθύρων· ἐὰν κλείσῃ τὰ παράθυρα, θὰ εἰσδύσῃ διὰ τῶν ρωγμῶν καὶ σχισμάδων· ἐὰν στουπώσῃ τις τὰς σχιμάδας, θὰ εἰσχωρήσῃ ἀοράτως δι'αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμπαγοῦς σώματος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς (V.296.16-19).

The architectural image employed here, together with the notion of linguistic transgressions into the constructed space of a national language, finds its correlative not only in the images of architectural closure which abound in Papadiamantis' fiction (anticipating Dimaras' description of Papadiamantis' κλειστός κόσμος), but in the numerous allusions to national boundaries. In fact, the relationship between national boundaries and language was articulated by Yiannis Psiharis (1854-1929) in a celebrated passage at the beginning of *Τὸ Ταξίδι μου* [1888] where he asserts that: Ἕνα ἔθνος, γιὰ νὰ γίνῃ ἔθνος, θέλει δυὸ πράματα· νὰ μεγαλώσουν τὰ σύνορά του καὶ νὰ κάμῃ φιλολογία δική του. Further on he adds: πρέπει νὰ μεγαλώσῃ ὄχι μόνο τὰ φυσικά, μὰ καὶ τὰ νοερά του τὰ σύνορα (1983: 37).

Psiharis' uncompromising vision of a national linguistic frontier stood at odds with the position adopted by Papadiamantis, that the Greek language should follow ἕνα μεταίχμιον, δηλαδὴ οὔτε ἄκρως δημοτικὴ νὰ εἶναι, οὔτε ὑπερβολικῶς καθαρεύουσα (Valetas 1955: 458).[32] In Papadiamantis' texts, the permeable nature of state borders is suggested not only by the ease with which characters disappear over them, or by the adjacency of place-names, but by the absence of any clear cut linguistic boundaries. The linguistic community is not contiguous with the frontiers of the nation-state. On the contrary, in a number of texts Papadiamantis indicates "that linguistic surfaces are in fact continuous, not subject to the kinds of breaks and discontinuities required for simple cartographic representation" (Jackson 1992: 156). Thus, for example, Greek protagonists speak Turkish, while conversely, Turkish characters are fluent in Greek. If the agha in *Ὁ Ἀβασκαμὸς*

32.On Papadiamantis' hostile reaction to Psiharis and the language question, see Valetas (1955: 457-470). See also Papadiamantis' interview with Dimitrios Hatzopoulos which was published in the newspaper *Τὸ Ἄστυ* in 1893 (Hatzopoulos 1991). Psiharis was the son-in-law of the philologist and historian Ernest Renan (1823-1892), who emphasized the importance of geography in the historical evolution of nations: "La géographie est un des facteurs essentiels de l'histoire" (1887: 303-304).

τοῦ 'Αγᾶ ὡμίλει ἑλληνικά (III.140.27), so does Agha Halil in *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* (II.16.26). Moreover, the Bavarian doctor in *Βαρδιάνος στὸ σπόρκα* is also fluent in Greek. The presence of a German doctor in charge of the quarantine's medical supervision is also ironic, implying the perviousness of the nation's borders. Finally, the Corfiot protagonist Barba Pipis speaks a form of patois Greek, interspersed with Italian in *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο*. Indeed, he is literally of dual nationality, like the "national" Greek poet Solomos whom he has met in Corfu, his mother being Greek and his father Italian.[33] Barba Pipis' bilingualism and his ambiguous nationality recall the multi-linguistic environment of Papadiamantis' early novels.

The equivocal relationship between language, geography and the notion of origins, is explored in some detail by Papadiamantis in *'Ο 'Αμερικάνος* [1891]. The preoccupation with linguistic comprehension occurs in the text's first paragraph, where Dimitris Berdes' shop is likened to a boat caught in a gale, while the crew give and take προστάγματα εἰς ἀκατάληπτον γλῶσσαν (II.257.6). A few lines later, the narrator again focuses upon the truncated linguistic expressions used in the shop, when he remarks of Hristos, Berdes' fifteen-year-old nephew and assistant:

> ἐξελαρυγγίζετο νὰ φωνάζῃ *ἀμέσως*! εἰς ὀκτὼ διαφόρους τόνους καὶ ὕψη·, λέξιν τὴν ὁποίαν μὲ τὸν καιρὸν εἶχε κατορθώσει νὰ κολοβώσῃ εἰς *ἀμές*! εἶτα νὰ συντάμῃ εἰς *'μές*! καὶ τέλος ν'ἁπλοποιήσῃ εἰς *ἔς* (II.257-258).

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33. Ironically, as N.D. Triantafillopoulos notes, Pipis attributes lines to Solomos - *κὲ ποέτα* - which are by Yeorgos Lagouïdaras (II.178.5-8). On Papadiamantis' reservations about Solomos (φαίνεται κἄπως ξένος, ἐν 'Ιταλίᾳ ἀνατραφείς), see Hatzopoulos (1991: 38). Pipis is one of many characters in Papadiamantis' fiction whose national identity is ambiguous. See, for example, the description of Kambosos in *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης* who ἔπαυε νὰ εἶναι Χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐγίνετο καὶ Τοῦρκος (II.61.9), or Stamatis in *Τὰ Δύο τέρατα*, a Greek who wears a turban: τώρα ἡ γλῶσσά του, ὁ τρόπος του, ἡ συμπεριφορά του, ὅλα εἶναι ἀρβανίτικα (IV.321.1-2).

The emphasis on linguistic unintelligibility and the corruption of standard Greek anticipates the arrival of the foreigner who speaks broken Greek and is virtually incomprehensible to the local islanders, who interject with both English and Italian words to make the foreigner understand. As Captain Yiannis explains to the gathering inside the café: τὰ ὀλίγα λόγια ποὺ μοῦ εἶπε ρωμέικα, τὰ εἶπε μ'ἕναν τρόπο δύσκολο καὶ συλλογισμένο (II.258.31-32). The foreigner's ambiguous appearance (μοῦ φάνηκε σὰν 'Εγγλέζος, σὰν 'Αμερικάνος, μὰ ὄχι πάλι σωστὸς 'Εγγλέζος οὔτε σωστὸς 'Αμερικάνος II.258.29-31) is therefore matched by a linguistic ambiguity. The locals are unable to place the foreigner geographically, just as they find it difficult to interpret his language.

Geography and language are explicitly linked in *'Ο 'Αμερικάνος*. When the stranger is engaged in conversation by the islanders, he speaks in Greek, but incorporates two key English words in his sentences. Δὲν εἶμαι νὰ καθίσω νὰ κάμω *τώκ* [Papadiamantis' emphasis], the foreigner remarks, καὶ δύσκολο σ'ἐμένα νὰ κάμω *τώκ* ρωμέικα (II.260.28-29). On the second occasion, he declares: Δὲν κάθομαι, πάω νὰ κάμω *γουώκ*, νὰ φέρω γῦρο, πῶς τὸ λέτε; (II.261.8). There is a conspicuous relationship in this text between "talk" and "walk"; between notions of linguistic and geographical disorientation. When the foreigner disembarks on the island, the narrator observes that ἐκοίταξε δεξιὰ-ἀριστερά, ὡς νὰ μὴ ἐγνώριζε ποῦ εὑρίσκετο (II.259.25). Later in the narrative, Mothonios himself exclaims that he is ignorant of the local currency: Δὲν γνωρίζω τοῦ τόπου μονέδα ἐγώ (II.269.35).[34] The protagonist's inability to express himself in the native language is matched by his difficulty in locating himself geographically.

On one level, as Constantinides proposes, *'Ο 'Αμερικάνος* can be read as "a modern-day recreation of Odysseus's return to his faithful Penelope" (Papadiamantis 1987: xiii). From

34.For an analysis of the relationship in Papadiamantis' fiction between money and language, see Chapter 6.

this perspective, it is a text that describes the return of the native and concentrates on the stripping off of the protagonists' sophisticated foreign ways back to his "origins". As the narrator remarks when describing the stranger:

> Ποίας φυλῆς, ποίου κλίματος ἦτο, δυσκόλως ἠδύνατο νὰ εἰκάσῃ τις. Ἐφαίνετο ἀποκτήσας οἱονεὶ ἐπίχρισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου, ὡς προσωπίδα τινὰ ἄλλου κλίματος, εὐζωίας καὶ πολιτισμοῦ, ὑφ'ἣν ἐλάνθανε κρυπτομένη ἡ ἀληθὴς καταγωγή του (II.259.12-15).

Yet Constantinides' summary ignores the hesitancy of the narrator's pronouncements when alluding to Mothonios' racial origins, as well as the repeated instances of linguistic and geographical confusion in the narrative. It is paradoxical, for example, that the "locals" inside the café are themselves not all indigenous. The origins of one of the three men described in the shop (one of the others is Vangelis Pahoumis who recognizes the stranger) are Serbian Macedonian: Ὁ εἷς τῶν τριῶν, ὁ Στογιάννης ὁ Ντόμπρος, σερβομακεδὼν τὴν καταγωγήν... (II.269.17-18). The repetition of the noun καταγωγή in the context of both Mothonios, who is described repeatedly as ξένος, and of the reveller in the shop, serves to undermine another tendency in the narrative to polarize the foreigner with the natives. Furthermore, it transpires that another "native", the mayor's bailiff, Uncle Triantafillos, is not from the island either: δὲν εἶναι τόπιος (II.270.19). An inversion therefore takes place in *Ὁ Ἀμερικάνος*. It transpires that the outsider who speaks broken Greek is not an alien at all (εἶναι ἀπὸ δῶ ντόπιος), and that the natives themselves, fluent in Greek, are not all natives.[35] Moreover, as intimated by the narratorial comments at the beginning of the text, the locals themselves often speak in a truncated

35.This blurring of distinctions between locals and foreigners recalls the old lady Merklina's tendency in *Τὰ Δύο κούτσουρα*, to mistake εντόποι passers-by for ξένοι (III.624.19-20).

ἀκατάληπτον γλῶσσαν which parallels the "foreigner's" own broken Greek.

Language and geography are not clear-cut issues in Papadiamantis. On the contrary, his narratives often probe the tensions that result in a society characterized by geographic and linguistic diversity.[36] Within the state, as described by Papadiamantis, the national language differs widely and protagonists, like Troulos in *Τὸ Κρυφὸ Μανδράκι* [1906], often mimic Greek dialects (IV.164.15-17). First there is the discrepancy between written and spoken Greek which Papadiamantis explores in texts such as *Κοκκώνα θάλασσα*; secondly, there is the dramatic representation of dialect. As in the short story *Ὁ Ἀμερικάνος*, the issues of idiolect and dialect raise questions about what constitutes standard, normative Greek, as well as about national identity. Even within the τόπος itself, linguistic distinctions are sustained between the mountain-dwellers and the inhabitants of the city (e.g. III.583.3-11).

One example of the use of dialect occurs in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, in the portrayal of Stamato and Kondilo, both from an island in the Saronic Gulf, who speak in Albanian dialect , and old Hiono and Aunt Kiranno, Macedonian refugees (ὅλαι μετανάστιδες ἐκ Μακεδονίας τοῦ 1821). They are called on to help Marousa when she is found to be pregnant and their facetious descriptions of the pregnant girl, told μὲ τὴν Μακεδονικήν [της] διάλεκτον, provoke hysterical laughter from the other women (III.482.17-30). The description of the old women occurs shortly after the paragraph in which the narrator mentions the increasing commerce and communication in the new state and the influx of visitors from all over Greece, such as the elegant young businessman μ'«ἑλληνικοῦρες» πολλὲς εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν (III.481.8). This notion of the porous frontiers of the nation-state anticipates Papadiamantis' later metaphor of the national

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36.See, in this context, Manolis Triantafillidis' discussion of the relative notion of "foreignness" in language (1963: 12-28).

language as an imperfectly sealed house which foreign influences must inevitably penetrate. It also echoes the multi-ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of the earlier historical novels, where immigration and emigration are recurring themes.

There is a social tension implicit in the tendencies of Papadiamantis' provincial protagonists to mispronounce official terms. Although the opposite is also true, as the narrator remarks of one protagonist at the beginning of *Τὰ Ρόδιν'ἀκρογιάλια* [1908]: ἐπανελάμβανε συχνὰ ἐρωτηματικῶς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν «τ'ἀκούκατε, βρὲ, παιδιά;», ἐπειδὴ κατήγετο ἀπὸ τὰς 'Αθήνας, ὅπου ἐπροφέρετο οὕτω, ἀντὶ *ἀκούσατε* (IV.225.20-23). Conversely, in *Ὑπηρέτρα* [1888], the local idiom employed by Barba Diomas in his monologue about the state bureaucracy in Athens, serves to subvert and parody the centralized, institutionalized authority:

> -Πῆγα δὰ καὶ στὴν 'Αθήνα, σ'ἐκεῖνο τὸ *Ἱππομαχικό*, καὶ μὄδωκαν, λέει, δύο *σφάκελα*, νὰ τὰ πάω στὸ Σοκομεῖο, νὰ παρουσιασθῶ στὴν Πιτροπή... (II.98.14-16)

As Farinou-Malamatari comments, αυτό που προβάλλεται στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση είναι η παραφθορά του λεξιλογίου της κρατικής μηχανής που συναιρείται στο λεξιλόγιο ενός αγράμματου. Moreover, the discrepancy between Barba Dioma's idiom and the state vocabulary is evidence of the χάσμα που υπάρχει ανάμεσα στο κράτος και στον πολίτη (1987: 175). In other texts, such as *Τὰ Καλαμπούρια ἑνὸς δασκάλου* [1908], poetic discourse is deflated. Here, verses rendered into a purist Greek by Korais are translated ironically into demotic, the text itself beginning with the description of an irreverent couplet scrawled on the base of Korais' statue in Athens (IV.301).

Papadiamantis' mixed linguistic environment is manifest in the text *Θέρος-Ἔρος* [1891] which takes place on the

ἑλληνικὴ ἑορτὴ of May Day (II.184.1). When predicting Kostis' future, Asimenia, the fortune-teller, forewarns of a ξένος who threatens the life of the girl he loves (II.197.12), while Fotini has hung up a large garlic on a tree to ward of any malignant ξένο μάτι (II.189.28). It transpires that the ξένος is the half-wild goat-herd - a parody of Rousseau's noble savage - who, like Kabanahmakis in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, can barely enunciate human speech:

> Ἐκίνησε δύο - τρεῖς φορὰς τὰ χείλη, ὡς νὰ ἤθελε ν'ἀρθρώση φωνήν, ἀλλ'ἐδυσκολεύετο. Τέλος, μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου καὶ ἀγῶνος, ἐξέπεμψε φθόγγους τινάς, οἵτινες δὲν ἦσαν σωσταὶ λέξεις, ἀλλὰ ράκη λέξεων (II.200.17-20).

The herder's aphasia is underlined ironically by the narrator when he alludes to the shepherd's bucolic description (II.201.14-16) and quotes from Theocritus, likening the wild goat-herd to the herdsman Daphnis who was taunted by Priapus (I.87). Yet the adverb ξενικά is also applied by the narrator to Asimenia herself, who has learned to speak in a purist language from her husband, a former sergeant of the gendarmerie, and as such, a representative of the state:

> Τὸ λοιπόν, ἐπανέλαβεν ἡ Ἀσημένια, ἤτις εἶχε τὸ πάλαι χωροφύλακα ἄνδρα, ὑπενωμοτάρχην, καὶ εἶχε μάθει νὰ ὁμιλῇ ξενικά...(II.199.12-13).[37]

37.The adverb ξενικά is also employed of the young heroine about whom the narrator observes: εἶχε ξενικὰ διευθετημένην τὴν κόμην της (II.184.10). Stewart notes (1991:170) that virtually all anthropologists who have studied Greece have commented on the division of the world into people who are "one's own" (δικοί μας) and strangers (ξένοι). See, for example, Campbell (1964: 316) and Herzfeld (1980). Jill Dubisch comments that the pronoun μας in Greek can be used to encompass an individual's immediate and extended families, the members of his or her village community, and even the members of the nation (1986: 35).

In terms of the local community, both the mountain-dweller's grunts and the state's official discourse are alien. Nevertheless, the potential linguistic disjunctions in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* are averted by the presence of Kostis himself who, although δὲν εἶχε τόσον καλὸν ὄνομα εἰς τὸν τόπον (II.198.11), is an islander and has studied in Athens. Kostis' biography provides a bridge linking the linguistic communities of τόπος and κράτος. At the same time, Kostis is associated with the inarticulate herder through his inability to express his love directly to Mati. The composition of his love-note, however, provides another bridge joining the mountain-dweller's muteness to the world of poetry and the wider linguistic community of the nation.

Conclusion

Papadiamantis' fiction explores what Valetas called τὸ δράμα της Ελλάδος (1955: 617), where the local and the general, the κράτος and the lesser communities which it contains, are juxtaposed linguistically and geographically. Each sustains the other, since the state is comprised of a multitude of τόποι, while the τόπος turns to the state for adjudication. Yet despite this reciprocal relationship, both τόπος and κράτος coexist in tension. The present chapter has paid particular attention to this interaction between locality and nation-state as it is expressed in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, where Frangoyannou's local biography is continually pitted against the nation's collective history.

According to Anderson there is an implicit linkage between nations and narrations since narratives and a conception of identity spring from the estrangement and amnesia which accompany profound changes such as those involved in the process of nation-building:

> As with modern persons, so it is with nations. Awareness of being embedded in

> secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of 'forgetting' the experience of this continuity - product of the ruptures of the late eighteenth century - engenders the need for a narrative of identity (1992: 205).

In *'Η Φόνισσα* notions of temporal rupture and continuity are expressed largely in terms of the murderess' own disrupted genealogy, while Frangoyannou's biographical narrative is implicitly related to her own social estrangement from the nation-state. On the one hand, Frangoyannou's biography records a continuity; an attempt to narrate events which might otherwise be forgotten. Yet in *'Η Φόνισσα* history is also construed as a "long procreative chain of begettings", so that Frangoyannou's murderous acts constitute attempts to obliterate history itself - a history which the murderess perceives as a process of perpetual enslavement (cf. Anderson 1992: 205). Similarly, if "genealogies represent a structuring of identity through a construction of a past which forms the platform for activity in the present" (Hart 1992: 269), Frangoyannou reduces genealogy to crude generic categories of male/female, thereby abolishing identity. Her victims become depersonalized tokens, as soulless as coins or vegetables (see Chapter 6). In this context, the biographical form of the novella, with its interweaving biographies of the murderess and nation-state, points to the paradox that Frangoyannou is herself the product of the history which she strives to eliminate. In so doing she abolishes the very platform upon which her present is grounded.

In a recent paper on *'Η Φόνισσα*, inspired largely by Paul de Man's allegorical readings, Rebecca Saunders (1992) has sought to show how the novella "sets up a striking association between filling up containers" and treachery. Frangoyannou murders by filling up cavities (a mouth and a cistern), while in turn, her actions are conditioned by what

she "deems the most treacherous of all 'fillings up' - filling up the womb with a female child". Furthermore, characters in the text conceal themselves in various containers such as a hollowed tree, a boatbuilder's yard, a basement, a cave, and a chapel. Accordingly, Papadiamantis' rhetoric of containment is read as an epistemological allegory (Saunders 1992: 55-56). The drama of containment outlined here is certainly a central motif in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, yet in her analysis Saunders omits what is perhaps the most bitter struggle for containment enacted in the narrative: the incorporation of the locality within the larger bounds of the nation-state, which Giddens has aptly characterized as "the pre-eminent power-container of the modern era" (1985: 120).

As the extended analysis of *Ἡ Φόνισσα* in this chapter has striven to demonstrate, Frangoyannou resists the pressures of containment when she escapes from the gendarmes onto the mountainside. But more particularly, the murderess defies containment by turning its categories inside-out. At a time which witnessed the development of the cult of motherhood (Ἡ Μητέρα Ἑλλάδα), stimulated largely by the growth of Greek nationalism (cf. Sant Cassia 1992: 244), Frangoyannou empties the national rhetoric, with its matricentric ideology, of all meaning. Frangoyannou's transgressive acts throw into question the whole process of social classifying of which the nation-state is the ultimate example. Frangoyannou, as Mother Greece, far from striving to unite with her daughter regions, sows discord, figuratively murdering the symbolic categories which she herself is made to personify. The mother and grandmother becomes a murderer, the house - that supreme container of familial and national values (see Chapter 4)- is transformed into a place of deceit and violence as filiative bonds give way to fratricidal actions. As in *Οἱ Καντηλῆτοι* [1912], a text which highlights "the primacy of territory over kinship" (Dogdshon 1987: 137), the family, from which the nation draws much of its symbolism of unity, lapses into civil war.

As the narrator expresses it: ἤρχισε πόλεμος ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου (III.426.32-33). Even Frangoyannou's prodigious memory for local history and topography can be seen as a resistance to national containment, for as Renan remarked in his essay "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" [1882]: "Or l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié beaucoup de choses"(1887: 303-304). Memory here stands, to use Michel de Certeau's phrase, as an "anti-museum" (1988: 108).

The inversion of conventional codes in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* extends from misreadings of the Scriptures to misreadings of body language and the transgression of dress codes as Konstantinos inadvertently puts on a pair of women's shoes in the semi-darkness (III.455-456). The notion of misreading here is synonymous with transgression, and applies not only to verbal-texts, but to non-verbal behaviour and other signifying practices which operate within society. Indeed, the continued emphasis on misreadings in the novella focuses the reader's attention onto the question of textual interpretation, and chiefly, on the manner in which nationalist codes assigned to women are repeatedly inverted. As Jina Politi has observed:

> In the nationalist code the female prototype combines both male and female virtues and becomes almost androgynous...In her role as motherland and mother-tongue it is she who inspires her male children to heroic action and is made to speak the aggressive, expansionist discourse (1988: 50).[38]

Significantly, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, Frangoyannou, like her children, is described in androgynous terms. The murderess' features and mannerisms are characterized by their masculinity - μὲ ἀδροὺς χαρακτήρας, μὲ ἦθος ἀνδρικόν καὶ μὲ

38.This passage from Politi is also discussed by Paul Sant Cassia, who links the rise of nationalist discourse to the cult of motherhood and to the emergence of the *nikokirei* middle class (1992: 183).

δύο μικρὰς μύστακος ἄνω τῶν χειλέων της (III.417.18-19) - details which recall the description of the icon of the Virgin in *Τὰ Κρούσματα*, published in the same year [1903]: ἦτον μία μεγάλη εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου, ἀρχαϊκή, μὲ ἁδροὺς χαρακτῆρας (III.549.16-17). At the same time Amersa is endowed with a similar powerful physique and is likewise described as ἀνδρώδης (III.422.21), while Mouros is said to possess a θηλυκὸν νοῦν (III.436.22). This recurrent emphasis on androgyny in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* could be seen as parodic portrayal of the nationalist code discussed by Politi, a code which is consistently inverted in the narrative. Far from inspiring her children to valorous deeds, Frangoyannou initiates them into a life of unheroic action. Her son Mouros becomes a travesty of his namesake, the self-sacrificing warrior saint Dimitrios. He is also a parody of the Kleftic ideal, a detail that recalls the episode of the Macedonian klefts who pursued his grandmother Delharo in the days before national independence.[39] Indeed, in this sense, Mouros epitomizes the ambiguous status of the klefts who were branded brigands and were outlawed by the state after independence (cf. Koliopoulos 1987). Not only does he wound his own sister inside the sacred precinct of the house, but he sees nothing wrong in marrying the daughter of the man he has killed (III.450.32-34), thereby grounding his marriage and future family on an act of murder. Mouros' confinement in the prison at Halkida is perhaps the supreme irony offered by the narrator on the notion of national containment; a parodic echo, perhaps, of Thanos Vlekas' unjust incarceration in the same prison, a decade or so earlier [1855] (Kalligas 1989: 112-117).[40]

In short, while Frangoyannou's own idiosyncratic speech undermines the "aggressive expansionist discourse"

39.There is an irony here too, for it is Frangoyannou who is literally speaking the κλέφτρα, having stolen money from both her father and mother and, according to Mouros, from her son.

40.Mouros' imprisonment takes place in approximately 1866, given that Papadiamantis' novella is set around 1878, and Mouros' skirmish with the police takes place twelve years earlier.

associated with the nation, the prospect of an invariable, homogeneous, national language in Papadiamantis' texts appears remote and absurd. Like the concept of the nation-state's exclusive, unequivocal frontiers, the notion of a linguistically defined territory is inextricably bound up with the terrain of an imagined community.

2

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES II: THE CHURCH

The preceding chapter has concentrated on the shifting ideological associations of nation, state and locality in Papadiamantis' texts. In the sections that follow an attempt is made to analyse conceptions of religious community in his fiction. Like the nation, sacral culture incorporates conceptions of communities and implies codes which regulate admission to membership (cf. Anderson 1992: 12). Unlike the community of the modern nation-state, however, the cohesion of religious communities is not exclusively boundary-orientated and based upon the territorialization of faith. On the contrary, as Anderson contends, a religious community is imagined largely through the medium of a sacred language and a written script (1992: 12-19).

In many of Papadiamantis' texts, however, a tension arises between local religious practice and the precepts of the official Church, while Orthodoxy is susceptible to multiple interpretations of communality. On the one hand it is construed as the national Greek religion, the Church sanctioning the authority of the state.[1] On the other, Orthodoxy stands at odds with the nationalist creed and represents an ecumenical community. As a national creed, Orthodoxy is territorialized and its membership defined by rules established by the state, just as the clergy draw their salaries from the state.[2] As an ecumenical community,

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1. Yannaras notes that the first constitution which the Greeks voted in at Epidavros in 1822 defined citizenship ἀκριβῶς μέ ἀναφορά στή θρησκευτική του πίστη, καί ὄχι στή γλώσσα του ἤ σέ ὁποια ἄλλη πολιτική του ἰδιαιτερότητα (1989: 80).
2. In this context, see Papadiamantis' article *Ἱερεῖς τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἱερεῖς τῶν χωρίων* [1896] where he discusses the issue of clerical salaries, and draws a distinction between the needs of the rural and urban clergy (V.193-194).

the Church is multi-ethnic, sharing a sacred language, but ignoring national frontiers. If these two contending versions of communality sometimes conflict, often they overlap in Papadiamantis' fiction, to form a varied, but coherent, cognitive map.

Contrary to the monolithic construct of Papadiamantis as an "Orthodox" writer (see introduction), a close analysis of Papadiamantis' texts demonstrates the extent to which ideas of religious community are explored in the narratives. In his early novels, particularly in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα*, as well as in many of his short stories, Papadiamantis explores the relationship between ethnicity, the state, and religion. These texts also engage with irredentism as an ideology which advocated an enlargement of the prescribed boundaries of the Greek state, offering Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians membership of an imagined community (Veremis 1990: 137).

In his fiction Papadiamantis analyses the interaction of three overlapping religious groupings. The first is the local religious community, which is inextricably bound up with local customs and folklore, and often draws upon pagan notions of "the sanctity of place" (cf. Ricks 1992). The indigenous character of the Church is reflected in its imagery and symbolism, which are drawn from the local landscape, so that the landscape itself becomes "the physical ground or material for a cosmology" (Hart 1992: 1). Local religious practice is clearly linked to superstition, the body of folk beliefs which lie outside the doctrines of the Orthodox Church. Thus, in *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα* [1896], for example, the narrator observes of Zisena's belief in the thaumaturgical properties of the *kolliva* (the ritual food offered at funerals and memorial services) that πολὺ ὡμοίαζε μὲ μάγια (III.127.32). The narrator stresses that, for the most part, the belief in the *kolliva's* miraculous powers is confined to τὰς κόρας τοῦ λαοῦ (III.123.2) and that ἐβασίζετο ἡ δοξασία ἐπὶ τῆς παραδόσεως (III.123.8).

When Zisena takes the wrong *kolliva*, which have not been cooked with the proper ingredients, the narrator conjectures that a stranger (ξένη) who was unaware of τὸ γνήσιον ἔθιμον τοῦ τόπου (III.127.7) must be responsible.

The second community is that of the autocephalous national Church with its seat in Athens. If the nation-state underscores the uniformity and singularity of the Greek Church, religious groupings, on a local level, are characterized by diversity and difference. The third, more inclusive interpretation of community, is that offered by the ecumenical Church, with its twin centres at Mount Athos and Constantinople, both of which lie outside the state's frontiers. Finally, the presence of other denominations such as Protestants, Jews, Catholics, and Muslims in Papadiamantis' fiction, serves a twofold function. On the one hand it demonstrates the integrity of an Orthodox community, while on the other, it connotes the existence of multiple religious communities, thereby qualifying the Church's ecumenical claims. Moreover, the citizenship of these non-Orthodox groupings within the community of the state suggests, as the previous chapter sought to show, the instability of such broad categories as state, nation, and Church.

The Local Church (Local Landmarks)

The pious inclinations of the local inhabitants are reflected in the proliferation of chapels which dot Papadiamantis' island landscape, so that Orthodoxy in his fiction, is first of all "the apparent physical context of village life: it is a feature of the topography, of the calendar; it sanctifies certain materials and substances of the local environment" (Hart 1992: 20). The relationship between religious devotion and topography is developed in *Οἱ Μάγισσες* [1900], which begins with an account of a pilgrimage from the new town towards the παλαιὸν χωρίον

(III.231.1). As the group pass by a small precipice, Father Yiakoumis indicates the spot (τοποθεσία) where Mirmingena was found dead, some twenty years before (III.232.5-19). Here, the action of walking is linked to recollection (see Chapter 5), and the ritualized movements backwards and forwards along the paths from the new town to the outlying παλαιὰ παρεκκλήσια (III.232.9), qualify the notion of time as a unidirectional flow, or dead-end (Chapter 4). The locality of Mirmingena's death is incorporated into the calendrical cycle of the Church. Time is naturalized and hence legible, so that the landscape is read out in a commemorative rite each time the procession passes by the site:

> Ἦτον ὡς νὰ ἐπεθυμοῦσαν νὰ τὴν «ξεκολάσουν», καὶ ὡς νὰ τῆς ἔκαναν συχώρια καὶ κόλλυβα (III.232.18-19).

The disruption of historical time represented by the suicide is transformed into a repetitive event which mirrors the cyclic rhythms of Orthodoxy itself.[3] As Edward Relph expresses it: "repetitive tradition re-establishes place and expresses its stability and continuity" (1976: 32).

The numerous churches and far-flung chapels (εξωκκλήσια, παρεκκλήσια) described in Papadiamantis' texts, are evoked as focal points for social activity and betoken attempts to domesticate the wilderness (cf. Stewart 1991: 165).[4] They demonstrate the extent to which the island's "religious geography" is coextensive with the bounds of society (Stavrou 1986: 69). The churches are physical landmarks associated with specific locations, orientating the local

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3.For an analysis of the cyclic rhythms of the Orthodox Church, and of liturgical time, in Papadiamantis, see Farinou-Malamatari (1987: 65-66, 84-86).

4.As Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros observes: Ὁ χῶρος ποὺ ἐκτείνεται μεταξὺ τῶν χωριῶν, ἡ ἄγρια φύση, καθαγιάζεται καὶ ἡμερεύει μὲ τὰ ἐξωκκλήσια, ποὺ σημαδεύουν τὸν τόπο καὶ τὸν ὀνοματίζουν...μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου τους (n.d.: 30).

inhabitants and organizing "the memories of an intimately shared past" (Herzfeld 1991: 87).[5]

In the representation of a "local cosmology" with its superstitions, customs and folklore, the texts focus upon a latent tension, and sometimes explicit divergence, between regional religious observance and theological doctrine; between official practice, or standard Christian worship, and local practice and belief. In his study of εξωτικά on Naxos, Stewart aptly distinguishes between what he terms:

> [the] textual, theological precept on the one hand and religion as it is practised at a particular time in a particular place on the other. The first may be called doctrinal religion and it is carried on in the case of Greece by the official Church; the latter may be distinguished as local or practical religion - the form that religion takes in relation to the life of a given community (1991: 11).

The distinction noted by Stewart is pertinent in an analysis of Papadiamantis' preoccupation with religious practice, though the term "community" is employed by Stewart only in the context of local affinities. The official Church with its textual, theological precepts, however, offers a divergent interpretation of community.

Papadiamantis' narratives often accentuate a potential conflict and rupture between "doctrinal religion" and "practical religion", by emphasizing the protagonists' eccentric religious practices. Like Herzfeld's Glendiot shepherds, Papadiamantis' mountain-dwellers evince a resistance to the formality of the Church; abiding by its rituals, but harbouring suspicions of the Church as a secular institution (cf. 1988: 238-247). Thus, in *Στὸ*

5.For a further discussion of churches as local landmarks and cultural symbols in Papadiamantis, see Chapter 3.

Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο, for example, the two goat-herds who meet up with Papa Frangoulis' party remain outside the church building for the duration of the liturgy. In fact, throughout the church service the congregation are continually stepping back into the secular space outside the church; what is accentuated is the informality of the service. Similarly, at the beginning of *Τ''Αγνάντεμα* [1899] the narrator remarks that the meagre congregation of mountain-dwellers who come to worship at a remote country chapel, δὲν ἤξευραν νὰ κάμουν τὸν σταυρόν τους (III.199.17).[6] Ignorance of the Church's formal rituals recurs in texts such as *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, where the narrator observes: οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ βοσκοὶ ἦσαν ὅλοι, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ μόνον ἀγράμματοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλιβάνιστοι οἱ κακόμοιροι πολλοὶ τούτων (II.522.21-22). This admission, together with notions of declining faith conveyed in the priest Papa Dianelos' exchange with Aunt Mathino (e.g.II.520.160-18), is certainly ironic in a text which opens with a bellicose manifesto of religious faith (cf. Saunier 1989/90).

The bewilderment of local worshippers in the face of canonical law is also a recurrent theme in Papadiamantis' texts. The protagonist of the short story *Ἡ Χήρα παπαδιὰ* [1887], for example, who has been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, has become infatuated with the widowed wife of a priest. His cousin consults a doctrinal reference book to ascertain whether or not it is canonical for a priest's wife to remarry. In this case, two different texts are juxtaposed; the one based on local custom, the other on doctrinal precepts. The story's title is that of a demotic folk song performed by the islanders and the quotations from popular songs interspersed in the narrative, together with the subtitle Ἦθη τῶν Σποράδων, draw attention to the

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6.An identical remark is made by the narrator in *Νεκρὸς ταξιδιώτης*: ἡ μικρὰ καμπάνα ἐκάλει τοὺς ἀγροίκους βοσκοὺς τοῦ βουνοῦ εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν - οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν ἐπήγαιναν, ἀλλ'ἴσως νὰ ἔκαναν μακρόθεν ἕνα σταυρόν, ἂν ἤξευραν ἀκόμη νὰ κάμουν τὸν σταυρόν τους (IV.341-342).

ambiguity between local tradition and doctrine. Indeed, the narrator remarks:

> Εἶναι βέβαιον, φαίνεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ *Πηδαλίῳ* δὲν ἀναγράφεται κανών τις ἀπαγορεύων τὸν δεύτερον γάμον εἰς τὰς ἐν χηρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρας. Ἀλλ'ἡ πρόληψις καὶ ἡ παράδοσις, τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ συντιθέμενα, ἰσοδυναμοῦσι τὸ κάτω κάτω μὲ ἕνα ἀποστολικὸν ἢ συνοδικὸν κανόνα, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λαὸς οὐδέποτε ἔλαβεν ἀνὰ χεῖρας τὸ *Πηδάλιον* διὰ νὰ ἴδῃ πόσους καὶ ποίους περιέχει κανόνας (II.85.27-32).

In this passage, superstition (πρόληψη) and tradition (παράδοση) are equated and balanced with apostolic and synodic decrees. Notions of a sacred script are deflated by the narrator's consciousness of a gulf which has opened between the written and the practised, as well as between the clergy and the general populace. This is further emphasized by the unintelligibility of the religious text to Minas, who struggles assiduously to decipher the book word by word (II.86.27-29).

A similar tension between local superstition and doctrine is explored in *Ἡ Πιτρόπισσα* [1909], where the protagonist, Pangos Fertoudakis - who has lived extensively abroad - encourages his widower son to remarry and proposes his second wife as the young couple's *koumbara* (IV.313.20-26). The narrator notes the consternation of the local priests in the face of Fertoudakis' resolution, when he remarks:

> Οἱ παπάδες ἐγόγγυσαν, ἀλλ'οὔτε βιβλία εἶχον πολλά, οὔτε συνήθιζαν νὰ διαβάζουν, οὔτε γράμματα ἤξευραν. Δὲν ηὗραν καμμίαν ρητὴν ἀπαγορευτικὴν διάταξιν. Ἀλλ'ἕνας, ποὺ δὲν ἦτο οὔτε παπὰς οὔτε δάσκαλος, εἰς τινας κύκλους, εἶπεν:

> -Ἡ τοπικὴ συνήθεια εἶναι νόμου κεφάλαιον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἡ συνήθεια ἡ καθολική! Ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος καὶ τὸ πρέπον εἶναι ὁ ἄγραφος νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν ὁποῖον Αὐτὸς εἶπε διὰ τοῦ Προφήτου ὅτι ἔμελλε νὰ ἐγγράψῃ εἰς τὰς καρδίας μας (IV.313-314).

Here, the priests' illiteracy and their ignorance of the Church's canonical law, is countered by the anonymous protagonist's celebration of local custom (τοπικὴ συνήθεια), which is raised to the status of dogma (νόμος). Moreover, ideas of verbal Church texts are juxtaposed to notions of an "unscripted" code, which is figuratively written or inscribed in the conscience of the members of the community (εἰς τὰς καρδίας μας).

Often a contrast is drawn in Papadiamantis' texts between written documents and non-verbal texts in the arbitration of social practices. In *Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ*, for example, the narrator satirizes notions of ἄγραφοι κανονισμοί, which according to a warrant-officer, ἰσχύουν περισσότερον ἀπὸ τοὺς γραπτούς (II.306.13-14). When asked to specify these conventions, the officer explains:- Ἄγραφοι κανονισμοὶ εἶναι, ὅταν, παραδείγματος χάριν, συλλάβουν κανένα λιποτάκτην...νὰ τὸν σπάζουν στὸ ξύλο...(II.306.17-18). Unwritten codes, the narrator intimates, are expressions of popular prejudices and give free rein to violence. Yet ἄγραφοι κανονισμοὶ may also lead to death when they are transgressed, as in *Τὸ Πνίξιμο τοῦ παιδιοῦ* [1900], when a child ignores Tsitoukas' ἄγραφος κανονισμὸς (III.278.10-11) about the place and time to go swimming, and drowns. Finally, in *Οἱ Κουκοπαντρειές* [1903], the bounds established by the unwritten and written laws are coincident, as Zafirena is cross-examined at the local police station about her illegal cohabitation with a man (III.572.11-12).

Frequently, too, Papadiamantis' texts centre on the congregation's perceptions of a linguistic dichotomy between

a vernacular language and the liturgy's figurative utterances. In *'Επιμηθεῖς εἰς τὸν βράχον* [1925], for example, Nikolakis Kokkinos pesters the educated narrator - much to his annoyance - for a gloss on the Church's language:

> Τώρα ποὺ θὰ βγῇ ὁ παπὰς νὰ πῇ τὸ Βγαγγέλιο - Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ - τί θὰ καταλάβωμε ἡμεῖς; 'Ανέβα ἐκεῖ στὴν πεζούλα, κι ἄνοιξε τὸ στόμα σου νὰ μᾶς ξηγήσῃς, νὰ μᾶς φωτίσῃς - ἴσως καὶ νοιώσουμε κ' ἡμεῖς τίποτα (IV.586.22-25).

The interpretative aspects of ecclesiastical practice are stressed in texts such as *'Ο Ἀνάκατος* [1910], where a similar ambiguity surrounds the legitimacy of re-marriage. Although he is a priest, the protagonist Alexandros studies the *Pidalion*, which contains the canon law of the Orthodox Church, (like Minas in *'Η Χήρα παπαδιὰ*) in an effort to determine what is canonical (IV.350).[7] There is a play on the two senses of the adjective κανονικός which is employed to mean canonical in an ecclesiastical context, but is also used to signify that which is accepted as normal, in an everyday, secular context. Paradoxically, the customs which are accepted as normal on a local level are often strictly uncanonical.[8]

Examples of discrepancies between local customs and official mandates are numerous in Papadiamantis' fiction. In the short story *Στὴν 'Αγι-'Αναστασὰ* the proliferation of country churches and the religious sentiments these embody are

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7.The inconclusive interpretation of religious texts to determine social issues is described in numerous stories, such as *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης*, where the Koran is consulted, unsatisfactorily, to settle a dispute (II.11-12). See also, *'Η Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* [1904], where the defence lawyer attempts to vindicate Kotsos' mother through the exegesis of a passage from the Scriptures (III.609).

8.Thus, several stories comment on the prevalence of concubinage amongst the poorer urban classes. See, for example, the narrator's comments in *Πατέρα στὸ σπίτι!* [1895]: 'Εκείνη εἶχε νυμφευθῇ ἔκτοτε, ἴσως χωρὶς παπά, καθὼς συνηθίζεται κάποτε εἰς τὴν πτωχὴν συνοικίαν (III.92-93).

juxtaposed to the stricter and more dogmatic theory of the official Church. The Church as a monolithic structure is undermined by the plurality of local sites of religious devotion:

> Ἡ εὐσεβὴς τάσις τοῦ λαοῦ, ζητοῦντος, διὰ τοῦ πολλαπλασιασμοῦ τῶν ἐξωκκλησίων ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς κοιλάδας, νὰ παρηγορηθῇ διὰ τὴν στέρησιν τῶν τόσων τὸ πάλαι ἱερῶν καὶ βωμῶν του, λησμονοῦντος τοὺς παλαιοὺς θεούς του χάριν τῶν νέων ἁγίων του, κατίσχυσε τῆς αὐστηροτέρας καὶ δογματικωτέρας θεωρίας, καθ'ἣν ἀπηγορεύοντο εἰς τοὺς χριστιανοὺς οἱ ἀγροτικοί ναοί. Ἀκριβέστεροι δέ τινες ἑρμηνεῖς τοῦ γράμματος, ἱερομόναχοι καὶ ἀσκητικοὶ ἄνδρες, ἠρνοῦντο καὶ νὰ λειτουργῶσιν εἰς ἐξωκκλησία. Ἀλλὰ τὸ αἴσθημα εἶναι ἀνώτερον τῆς θεωρίας, καὶ ὁ λαός, δουλεύων, τυραννούμενος, πενόμενος, ἀγροδίαιτος, διασπειρόμενος κατὰ κώμας καὶ χωρία, μὴ ἔχων πόρους νὰ κτίση μεγάλας καὶ λαμπρὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἔκτισε πολλὰς καὶ πενιχράς (II.353.17-27).[9]

In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, the narrator comments on the conflict between custom and precept as reflected in the contending views on the practice of bestowing dowries. The island customs, or τὰ νησιωτικὰ ἔθιμα, are opposed to the official promulgations of the Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία in Constantinople and the narrator notes the innovation of the cash dowry:

> Καὶ ὁποίας προῖκας, κατὰ τὰ νησιωτικὰ ἔθιμα. «Σπίτι στὰ Κοτρώνια, ἀμπέλι στὴν Ἀμμουδιά, ἐλιώνα στὸ Λεχούνι, χωράφι στὸ Στροφλιάν». Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους, περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ αἰῶνος, εἶχε κολλήσει καὶ ἄλλη ψώρα.

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9. For a discussion of this passage, see Ricks (1992: 172-173), who focuses on the term ναός as an overt linkage between ancient shrines and sites of Christian worship.

> Τὸ «μέτρημα», ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὠνομάζετο «τράχωμα», συνήθειαν τὴν ὁποίαν, ἂν δὲν ἀπατῶμαι, εἶχεν ἀφορίσει ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία. Ὤφειλεν ἕκαστος νὰ δώσῃ καὶ μετρητὴν προῖκα (III.434.3-9).[10]

Local religious customs are controverted and sometimes subjected to parody in Papadiamantis. Thus, in *Τὸ Χριστὸς Ἀνέστη τοῦ Γιάννη* [1914], the village idiot Yiannis enters local churches where he mimics the priest's ritual activities (IV.529). The narrative of this story culminates in a description of Yiannis' mock Easter celebrations inside a locked church. The effect of the protagonist's deviant religious practice and the mimicry of the official Church is to challenge the mechanical acceptance and celebration of customs.[11] At the same time, Yiannis' religious aberration is linked in the narrative to his social ostracism, as he is rejected from national military service: Τέλος ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ ἀπεφάσισε νὰ τὸν κηρύξῃ «βλᾶκα»...(IV.528.9-10). The explicit parallel developed in the narrative between Yiannis and one of the executed Dilessi brigands further accentuates the protagonist's nonconformity (IV.527.1-3). Social ostracism and religious deviance are presented as inextricably bound up. On a

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10.In fact, as early as 1737 an encyclical was circulated by the Patriarch Neophytos fixing dowries into three groups, an action which suggests the official Church's concern at the inflation spiral of dowries. On the general practice of dowries in nineteenth-century Greece, see Sant Cassia (1992: 75).

11.The theme of mimicry is a recurrent one in Papadiamantis' texts. See, for example, *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλοὺ* (II.163.1-4), *Ἡ Ψυχοκόρη* [1925] (V.612.12) and *Ἡ Φόνισσα* (III.470.21-22). In *Ὁ Καλόγερος* [1892], one of the protagonists asserts that monasteries are formed when individuals imitate or mimic each other (II.323.14-16). Similarly, in *Ἡ Ντελησυφέρω* [1904], a child imitates devout old men inside the church (III.645.18-19) and Papadiamantis condemns the mimicry of foreign ways in religious practice in *Ἱερεῖς τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἱερεῖς τῶν χωρίων* (V.198.14). Stewart notes that a common complaint among the Naxiots was that "the great evil of the Greek is that he only copies...He knows how to mimic" (1991: 121). But mimicry does not always have negative connotations. See, for example, *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* (II.227.15).

national level the state and Church bolster one another, condemning those who stand without.

If the local and official communities are sometimes in conflict, there are moments when the boundaries between informal and formal Church rituals are transgressed. In his book on brigands in Greece, John Koliopoulos notes that when it came to foster-brotherhood, "in contrast to the official Greek Orthodox Church, which condemned the practice, the lower clergy and monks in particular seldom denied their services in officiating over the particular ceremony, which involved the mixing of the blood of the foster-brothers and their swearing on the Gospels" (1987: 263). In Papadiamantis' fiction the clergy also partake, albeit under pressure, in such uncanonical rituals. Thus, in *Ὁ Γάμος τοῦ Καραχμέτη* [1914], a priest performs a marriage, even though the bridegroom Koumbis is already officially married (IV.502-504). In *Ἐξοχικὴ Λαμπρὴ* [1892], the narrator appears to cast aspersions on the sexual proclivities of the priest Papa Kiriakos when he observes: Δὲν ἔτρεφε προλήψεις. Ἠκούετο μάλιστα ἐδῶ κ'ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ὁ ἱερεὺς οὗτος εἶχε καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν «ν'ἀποσώνῃ τὰ παιδιὰ» εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τῶν μητέρων, τῶν ἐνοριτισσῶν του (II.126.22-24) (cf. Triantafillopoulos 1986: 35-38).[12]

If the local clergy are pressurized by their congregations, the congregation often assumes the clergy's function. In *Ἡ Πεποικιλμένη* [1909], for example, the two lay protagonists commence the matins service without the priest, since they are reluctant to wake him. Moreover, as the narrator remarks, ὁ Γούμενος δὲν ἐγνώριζε τὰ παλαιὰ ἔθιμά μας καὶ δὲν τὰ ἠσπάζετο (IV.339.1-2). Before matins the islanders relate local stories about the spirits of the place, thereby suggesting the syncretism of local belief, where pagan folklore and superstitions have become

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12.For a different, although implausible, interpretation of these lines, see Moullas who suggests that Papadiamantis is hinting at the priest's infanticidal tendencies: ἀναφέρεται σὲ μιὰ λίγο-πολὺ τρέχουσα πρακτικὴ βρεφοκτονίας (1981: μα'-μβ').

complementary to Orthodox practice and have been absorbed into its informal structure. Doctrinal and local religion are described as interdependent, merging to form a single coextensive community. Similarly, in *Ἡ Ντελησυφέρω* an eccentric member of the congregation, Yiorgos Konomos, recites the church service aloud, pre-empting the priest and the cantors (III.643.10-13). At the end of the narrative Konomos even remembers a hymn which the cantors have omitted. In both these texts, local practices and beliefs interact - sometimes competitively - with the activities of the formal, institutionalized Church.

A close connection is sustained in Papadiamantis' fiction between the home and the church (τὰ θρησκευτικὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκογενειακὰ ἔθιμα V.198.11). In the satirical story *Ἄλλος τύπος*, where the protagonist takes pleasure in humouring clerical pretensions (III.594.19-20), the narrator notes that one of the landlady's rooms in the building where Barba Markos lodges is covered with icons ὅστις ὡμοίαζε πολὺ μ'ἐκκλησίαν χωρὶς τέμπλον καὶ ἱερόν:

> Ὑπῆρχον ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τοίχων, ὅλου τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσεος βορείου, ὑπὲρ τὰ τριάκοντα εἰκονίσματα Ἁγίων μεγάλα, μικρά, ἀσημωμένα, ἁπλᾶ, παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας ζωγραφικῆς (III.593.17-19).

The home here becomes a sacred precinct, or a type of miniature religious community, while the woman's role parallels the role of the priest (cf. Hirschon 1993: 81).[13]

13.The relationship between home and church is discussed further in an analysis of *Τὸ Ἰδιόκτητο* [1925] in Chapter 3. Interestingly, a similar preoccupation with popular religious devotion runs through Kostas Tahtsis' fiction. See, for example, Nina's exclamation about Antonis in *Τό Τρίτο Στεφάνι* [1963]: Μά δέν ἤθελε νά πάει σέ μοναστήρι. Προτίμησε νά μοῦ κουβαλήσει τό μοναστήρι μέσ'στό σπίτι μου. See also the description of Evfimia's room: Ἕνα δωμάτιο ὅπως ὅλα τά δωμάτια τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ λαοῦ - ἄν δὲν ὑπῆρχαν τὰ εἰκονίσματα, που σκέπαζαν τούς τέσσερις τοίχους ἀπό πάνω ἴσαμε κάτω. Ἐκατό, διακόσια εἰκονίσματα κάθε χρώματος καί σχήματος...(1987: 30-31). The stylistic connections between Papadiamantis' texts such as *Ἀπόλαυσις στὴ γειτονιὰ* [1900]

At the same time, however, the eclectic melange of icons on Olimpias' improvised iconostasis, with the detail that it *looked* like a church *except* for the absence of the iconostasis (τέμπλον) and the sacrum (ἱερόν), provides an ironic undertone to Olimpia's ostentatious display of faith. The icons are misused as personal appurtenances. Rather than being objects of veneration, they serve as mirrors to reflect Olimpias' professed sanctity.

Another story which focuses on the theme of religious devotion in a domestic setting is *Τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ* [1912], where the bachelor narrator is invited for a Πάσχα οἰκιακόν (IV.389.4) at the house of a friend, Stefanos. Here, the narrator emphasizes the conviviality and friendly appearance of the family house. Enclosed inside a wide yard, the house is εὔχαρι καὶ θαλπερὸν (IV.389.5), while the lush greenery and pots of flowers bespeak an edenic tranquillity. The symbolic aspects of the Easter meal are also developed by the narrator, as the family break the traditional red Easter eggs and sing the *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη* (IV.390.17-18).[14] Stefanos' house is thus a refuge, or an emblem of the unfallen world:

> the love and trust which bind the family members together are reflections of the values of love and peace which are those of the sacred world. The house, the family, and the principal figures of the family, are thus united in a complex symbol which images the world restored to its original integrity -

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and Tahtsis' novel, are mentioned by N.D. Triantafillopoulos (1992: 17). In this context, the opening line of Tahtsis' novel possibly echoes Frangoyannou's cry of despair: Δέν μπορῶ νὰ ὑποφέρω πλιά (III.504.7-8)

14. Ilias Papadimitrakopoulos has remarked on the prominence of victuals in Papadiamantis' fiction (1992: 43-61). It should also be noted that Papadiamantis' first short story was entitled *Τὸ Χριστόψωμο* [1887]. Often in texts such as *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο*, *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, or *Ἐξοχικὴ Λαμπρὴ*, eating takes place in festivities after the liturgy, so that the meals are patterned on the sacramental act. Food is associated with a shared incarnation within a social and religious body (cf. du Boulay 1974: 55, Hirschon 1993: 79).

> the ideal configuration of man and nature in communion with God (du Boulay 1974: 57).[15]

Yet the narrator in *Τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ* repeatedly stresses that the world *is* a fallen one, devastated by illness, loneliness and betrayal. This is intimated chiefly through the brief biographical sketches of the two infant girls Maria, or Toto, and Angeliki, or Koula, which mirror the narrator's own experiences. If he describes himself as ἔρημος καὶ ξένος στὰ ξένα (IV.389.4), so too, are the girls. Toto is the offspring of a ξένη (IV.389.16) who was abandoned by her husband, while Koula was adopted from the Βρεφοκομεῖον (IV.391.18). Thus, like the solitary narrator who is welcomed into Stefanos' family at Easter and to Nikolas Boukis' house after the liturgy (IV.391.16-17), so the orphaned girls find shelter in hospitable families. As the narrator remarks of Nikolas' house: Ἡ μικρὰ οἰκία ἦτο ξενὼν διὰ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς διαβατικούς, διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας (IV.391.11-12)

Religion, the narrator in this text intimates, is bound up with contexts outside the church building. Indeed, the sanctuary of the house is associated with communion, both literally and figuratively, and thus replicates the church in its specific activities and hospitality. As Chandler expresses it:

> The biblical notion of the "world" as the devil's domain reinforced the idea that the home was a place of protection where one could be "in the world but not of it". Implied, too, was that the home should ideally be an Edenic retreat (1991: 8).

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15. If the earthly family becomes "a refraction of the Holy archetype Family" (Campbell 1964: 35), there is a symbolic dimension to Frangoyannou letting the light go out in front of the icon of the Virgin in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* (III.454.9-11). A correspondence is implied here, between the ἀμαυραὶ εἰκόνες (III.429.5) of the murderess' family past, and the obscured icons of the Holy Family.

While the narrator sings devotional verses inside the house (IV.390.20-24), he is also a cantor in the church of Ἅγιος Ἐλισσαῖος (IV.391.21-22). It is precisely this reciprocity between house/family (οἰκία) and church that the title *Τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ* hints at. For the noun τραγούδια, or τραγουδάκια (IV.391.7), implies a secular evaluation, where emphasis is placed on the aesthetic value of the tune, rather than on its ritualistic context. In contrast, however, the term τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ connotes the bridging of secular and profane experience . Thus, the "Songs of God" fill the potential gulf between Stefanos' ignorance of ecclesiastical texts (ὁ κὺρ Στέφανος δὲν ἤξευρεν ἄλλο νὰ ψάλῃ εἰμὴ τό, ψήσου γίδα ψήσου καὶ ροδοκοκκινίσου IV.390.18-19) and the narrator's intimate knowledge of Orthodox devotional texts:

> Μετὰ ἓξ ἡμέρας μὲ ἤκουσεν ἡ μικρὰ νὰ ψάλλω τὸ «Ἀγαλλιάσθω τὰ δρυμοῦ ξύλα σύμπαντα». Καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Θεολόγου ἔψαλα τὸ «Φίλε μυστικέ, Χριστοῦ ἐπιστήθιε». Καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου ἔμελψα τὸ «Δεῦρο Μάρτυς Χριστοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς»...(IV.391-392).

The boundary between an informal, local tradition and the official Church, is not incontestable. A case in point is the text *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος*, where the status of the anonymous martyred goat-herd remains ambiguous. Although he is held to be a saint in local folklore, he is not an officially canonized saint. In other words, he is not one of the saints (τοῦ δεῖνος ἀγροτικοῦ ἁγίου II.211.8-9) who constitute the object of one of the childhood pilgrimages evoked at the beginning of the narrative. Nevertheless, Papadiamantis' text points to the notion of holiness as being "popularly emergent rather than institutionally derived" (Kokosalakis 1987: 47). The word *Ἅγιος* is used only once in the course of the narrative, and then only in the context of the proverb «φτωχὸς Ἅγιος δοξολογία δὲν ἔχει» (II.214.18-9). In short, the saint and his story pertain to the island's oral

traditions along with tales such as the haunted well known as Κρύο Πηγάδι (one of the "many ancient traditions" - πολλὰς ἀρχαίας παραδόσεις II.214.24 - narrated by the exiled islanders), as much as they belong to the Tradition of the Orthodox Church.

The saint in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* represents the ambiguous point at which traditions meet Tradition; a convergence that is as ambiguous as the half-ruined churches which both partake of, and resist, historical time (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, the saint's equivocal relationship to Tradition and traditions is expressed as a topographical ambiguity. The location of the red stained earth, the site of the saint's martyrdom, is described in relation to the three crosses (ἑκατὸν βήματα ἀπωτέρω II.214.5) that evidently predate the saint since they appear as landmarks within the saint's life story. These crosses represent Tradition, and are themselves painted red, in this way anticipating the red stained earth.[16]

The National Church

As Beaton remarks, "nationality and religion were, specially for the nineteenth century, two of the most fundamental determinants of a person's identity" (1988: xii). In numerous Papadiamantis texts the Orthodox Church is identified with the Greek nation-state. The Church is envisaged as a national establishment with all the characteristic features of such an institution, including centralization, hierarchy, and bureaucracy (cf. Hart 1992: 18). In the preface of *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, the narrator asserts that the Greek nation ἔχει καὶ θὰ ἔχῃ διὰ παντὸς ἀνάγκην τῆς θρησκείας του (II.516.34). Religion, no less than language and geography, is construed as determining the nation's identity. Yet, just as Papadiamantis' texts

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16.For a discussion of the goat-herd as an allegorical representation of the Καλὸς Ποιμὴν, see Kousoulas (1993: 11-16).

register the shifting relation between local practice and doctrine, so they expose the tensions between the national, autocephalous Greek Church, and the ecumenical Church.

Many of Papadiamantis' protagonists equate national Greek independence with Orthodox Christianity and the saints serve as a focus for both the broadest national unity and for local community. From this perspective the Church is coextensive with Greek identity in its broadest sense. Thus, the Feast of the Annunciation, which is celebrated on 25 March, suggests a parallel between the regeneration of Hellas and the Christian calendar. According to popular belief, March 25 is also the date on which Germanos is credited with having raised the banner of revolt against the Turks in the Peloponnese. Like the Feast of the Annunciation, "the date of national revolution is a momentous symbol of collective identity" (Herzfeld 1986: 22).[17] Moreover, as Veremis has observed, "the state incorporated the Church and its martyrs into the pantheon of Greek heroes and made them integral parts of the national myth" (1991: 136).

In Papadiamantis' story *Ἀγάπη στὸν κρεμνὸ* [1913] the War of Independence is associated with miracles. Alluding to Gordon's *History of the Greek Revolution*, the narrator relates how, during the siege of Mesolongi, a cannon blast which blew up the walls of a church ἔκαμε ν'ἀναβλύση ἄφθονος πηγὴ κρύου νεροῦ ἀπὸ τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ 'Αρχαγγέλου. Καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι ἔλαβον θάρρος, καὶ δὲν ἐσυνθηκολόγησαν (IV.486.12-14). Similarly, the martyrdom of the anonymous saint at the hands of Muslim pirates in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* is associated with national Greek history. The narrator's allusion to Herodotus' *Histories*, and more specifically to Book VII where Greek ships engage with Xerxes' invading Persian fleet off the coast of Skiathos, places the story within the historical and ideological context of the national struggle for Greek Independence (II.214.10-11).

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17. Herzfeld stresses the etymological link in Greek between resurrection (ανάσταση) and revolution (επανάσταση).

The Church is involved in the political machinery of the state, even if this collaboration sometimes breaks down, demonstrating the incompatibility of secular and religious priorities. In *Τὰ Δύο τέρατα*, for example, the narrator observes - ironically - that ballot boxes are placed inside the church βεβαίως διὰ ν'ἁγιάσουν καλύτερα καὶ ἐκλογεῖς καὶ ἐκλεγόμενοι (IV.320.1-2). In this text, even the priest participates in the elections, decking out his house with red banners in support of one of the contending parties (IV.319.5-7). Conversely, in his farcical portrayal of the lay brother Yiannis Bouas, the narrator also points to the discordance between religious and political ideologies. Although he intends to become a monk, Yiannis is enticed out of the monastery at each election ἐπειδὴ οἱ ὑποψήφιοι ἐφίλευαν τοὺς ἐκλογεῖς καὶ καπνὸν καὶ ρακὶ καὶ γιουβέτσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυσέκια μὲ δεκάρες (IV.319.11-17). Finally, the indirect participation of the state in the demolition of churches is commented on by the narrator in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο*, when he remarks that the negligence (ὀλιγωρία) of the municipal administration was, in part, responsible for the ruinous state of the buildings (II.292.26-27). As Papadiamantis asserted in an article entitled *Οἰωνὸς* [1896]: Καὶ τί πταίει ἡ γλαῦξ, ἡ θρηνοῦσα ἐπὶ ἐρειπίων; Πταίουν οἱ πλάσαντες τὰ ἐρείπια. Καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τὰ ἔπλασαν οἱ ἀνίκανοι κυβερνῆται τῆς Ἑλλάδος (V.254.7-9).

An example of the close identification of the religious community with the cultural community of the nation is the story *Ἐξοχικὴ Λαμπρὴ*. In this text, the narrator describes how, after the Easter service has been concluded, the congregation's festivities continue outside the church where traditional dances are performed. As Anestis Keselopoulos has observed, τὸ γλέντι καὶ ἡ διασκέδαση ἔρχεται πολὺ φυσικὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμη θεία Λειτουργία. Οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ὕμνοι πᾶνε μαζὶ μὲ τὰ ἄλλα τραγούδια. Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παράδοση εἶναι συνυφασμένη μὲ τὴ λαϊκή (1992: 132). Traditional religious songs such as the

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη are sung by Barba Milios in the style of an *amané* or a *kleftiko*. The participation in the singing of the Mayor and of Barba Kitsos, who was sent to the island as a policeman some time in the reign of Otto and subsequently forgotten there (II.132.20-21), suggests the contiguity of the national state with the religious community.[18] They intimate the inseparable connection between the official Church and an ethnic folk culture (cf. Kokosalakis 1987: 38). Thus, despite Barba Kitsos' mispronunciation of ecclesiastical songs, and even while *'Εξοχικὴ Λαμπρὴ* begins with the potential dissolution of the religious community, as the villagers are threatened with the prospect of having no priest to perform the liturgy, the story concludes with the narrator's affirmation of the villagers as ἀληθεῖς ὀρθόδοξοι Ἕλληνες (II.133.12).[19]

Religious texts are shown here to merge into a cultural environment represented by other texts such as folk-songs and dances, while the eating, which takes place in the festivities after the communion service, is patterned on the sacramental act. The same occurs at the end of *Στὴν 'Αγι-'Αναστασὰ* where, outside the church in which they have just celebrated the liturgy, one of the protagonists relates stories about his war time days with the famous national heroes of Greek Independence, Yiannis Stathas and Nikitaras (II.359-361), the narrator quoting lines from a folk-song, thereby underlining the interactional relationship between

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18.There are numerous allusions in Papadiamantis' fiction to men such as Barba Kitsos, Greeks from other parts of the state, who have been forgotten on the island by the administration. See, for example, the policemen in *Οἱ Ναυαγοσῶσται* [1901]: δύο παλαιοί, λησμονημένοι χωροφύλακες, ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Συντάγματος (III.369.26-27).
19.Papadiamantis' texts, such as *'Εξοχικὴ Λαμπρὴ*, often focus on moments of potential disruption, when the religious community threatens to splinter. Thus, in *Στὴν 'Αγι-'Αναστασὰ* social rivalries between the two protagonists threaten to intervene and disrupt the religious community. As Mary Douglas has observed, there is an intimate connection between ritual and disorder since "granted that disorder spoils pattern; it also provides the materials of pattern...Ritual recognizes the potency of disorder" [1966] (1991: 94).

religious culture and ethnicity (cf. Kokosalakis 1987b: 236).

In texts such as *Χωρὶς Στεφάνι* [1896] social mores (τὰ κοινωνικά) of Athenian society are shown to impose upon the communality of the Church. In one sense, this imposition of secular concerns on the ecclesiastical sphere, which is a central theme in *'Ο Καλόγερος*, represents an extension of a tendency already manifested on a local level where the worshippers often usurp the functions of the clergy. Discussing the Easter service in *Χωρὶς Στεφάνι*, for example, the narrator remarks: Εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας, ὡς γνωστόν, ἡ πρώτη 'Ανάστασις εἶναι γιὰ τὶς κυράδες, ἡ δευτέρα γιὰ τὶς δοῦλες (III.133.7-8). Here, secular notions of social hierarchy impinge upon the Orthodox ritual. As the capital of the state, Athens is dramatized as the centre of an authoritarian culture which uses the Church to perpetuate conventions which are not intrinsically Orthodox. The officious warden in *Χωρὶς Στεφάνι* is thus an expression of a usurping secularism which, as the narrator reflects, is deeply hypocritical (III.136.1-4).

The Ecumenical Church

Texts such as *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο*, or *'Ο Καλόγερος*, focus on the latent tensions between nationality, the state, and Orthodoxy. The protagonist of *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο*, Barba Pipis, is a native of Corfu, and although a devout Orthodox Christian, he is half Italian. Here, Papadiamantis explores the relationship between language, geography, parentage and religious identity. In his broken Greek, which is punctuated with Italian expressions, Pipis inadvertently misquotes and corrupts religious texts. Furthermore, Pipis' confrontation with a hostile Athenian, whom he meets on his way to celebrate Easter in Piraeus, highlights the potential collision between religious and national identities. The Athenian's gruff demotic is juxtaposed against Pipis'

imperfect Greek and Italian. For the Athenian, Pipis is a dubious character, and even his motives for travelling to Piraeus to celebrate Easter are suspect (II 180-181). Yet if religious convictions and nationality are not coterminous in this text, importance is attached to the adjective ρωμέικο which points to the common historical ground between the Western Roman Church and the Eastern Church, a union which the twy-born Pipis embodies.[20] Thus, even while the narrator underlines the ethnic tensions which cut across notions of a homogeneous religious community, he nonetheless intimates deep-rooted religious affiliations, not least between himself and Barba Pipis:

> Θὰ προσεχώρουν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν του, ἂν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν δὲν εἶχα τὴν συνήθειαν νὰ ἑορτάζω ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἄστεως τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα (II.182.14-16).

If notions of a local religious community are associated with those stories set on Skiathos, the national Church is associated with Athenian stories such as *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο* and *Ὁ Καλόγερος*, which account for just under a third of Papadiamantis' total output (cf. Kotzias 1992: 103-121). As the seat of government and of the autocephalous Greek Church, Athens serves as a focus for the pressures of urbanization, social aspirations and foreign influences on the community. *Ὁ Καλόγερος* (subtitled Μικρὰ Μελέτη), for example, centres on the temptations put in the way of a monk and deacon of a parish church in Athens. The Church is dramatized on a local level in an urban environment of claustrophobic architecture and malicious gossip. In this text Papadiamantis explores the contemporary institutions of the Church such as monasticism, while the narrator upbraids the national autocephalous Greek Church for corrupting the official practices of the ecumenical Church. Καὶ δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς ἄρα, the narrator inquires:

20.On the ideological associations of the noun ρωμέικο, see Herzfeld (1986: 124-128) and Hart (1992: 12-13).

> νὰ σκεφθῇ ἡ Μεγάλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία ἂν δὲν συμφέρῃ ν'ἀποσύρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἀνηλίκου ἀδελφῆς της τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον, τὸ ὁποῖον κατὰ συγκατάβασιν μόνον καὶ ὑπὸ ὅρους παρεχώρησεν αὐτῇ; (II.329.20-23)

The flagrant intervention of the Πολιτεία and its secular interests in the running of the Church is decried (II.325.7-12) as is the Church's conformity to heretical Western practices (II.328.7).

The twin poles of *Ὁ Καλόγερος* are Athens and Athos, representing the nation-state and innovation on the one hand, and ecumenicism and tradition on the other. Athos appears in a number of Papadiamantis' texts where it is associated with ecumenicism and juxtaposed against the national Greek Church which, like the sovereign state, is closed off by frontiers. Thus, in *Ἀγάπη στὸν κρεμνό* the protagonist recounts the tale of a trip to Mount Athos with a fellow-countryman (πατριώτης) and his subsequent encounter with Bulgarian and Russian monks who were ignorant of Greek customs and language (δὲν ἤξευραν οὔτε *κρὰ* ρωμέικα, IV.482.24-25).[21]

Conclusion

In the preceding sections an attempt has been made to show how Papadiamantis' fiction explores overlapping, and sometimes overtly antagonistic interpretations of the religious community. His protagonists conceive of the Church on various levels, as a series of local landmarks, as a

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21.Tensions exist, not only between the Greek and non-Greek Orthodox, but between the Greeks within and outside the state, the so-called autochthons and heterochthons. Thus, the Patriarch Samouel is condemned for being a Phanariot Greek (IV.350.13-20), while the Pasha's secretary in *Ὁ Γάμος τοῦ Καραχμέτη*, who is also a Phanariot, encourages Koumbis in his illegal marriage. As he exclaims to the local priest, Papa Stamelios: Τώρα θὰ μᾶς κάμῃς πατριαρχικὸν γάμον, δέσποτα, ὅπως συνηθίζουμ'ἐμεῖς στὸ Φανάρι (IV.502.18-19).

national establishment, and as an ecumenical institution. A close reading of Papadiamantis' stories confirms Anderson's assertion that the source of any tension that exists between contending interpretations of communality lies in the different, and sometimes incompatible, styles in which religious communities - even those within the same nation or state - are imagined.

As a final example, the concluding section of this chapter focuses on Papadiamantis' novel *'Η Γυφτοπούλα*, since in this text, not only does the narrator concentrate on contested religious groupings such as Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam, but he accentuates the disparate interpretations of religious community within the same culture; discrepancies which threaten the survival of that culture.

'Η Γυφτοπούλα is set in May 1453, on the eve of the fall of Constantinople.[22] It is a time of unrest and cultural instability as the Turks threaten to engulf the vestiges of the Byzantine Empire, while the Orthodox clergy are torn between compromise with Rome or a rejection of Union. For Papadiamantis this capricious background in which factions group and re-group, vying for supremacy, provides an appropriate setting for exploring the interactions between religious communities.

N.D. Triantafillopoulos has argued that in *'Η Γυφτοπούλα* Papadiamantis is concerned with the philosophical and, in the final analysis, theological differences between the Roman West and the Greek East (1992: 13-38). Thus, for Triantafillopoulos the villain of the novel is the Neoplatonist thinker Plethon, in whose honour Cosimo de Medici founded the Platonic Academy in Florence (Runciman 1985: 124). Plethon and his disciple Velminnis are representatives of a Western humanistic conception of ancient Greek culture which seeks to impose itself on alien

22.As was noted in Chapter 1, Papadiamantis' novel is strictly speaking unhistorical, since Plethon died in June 1452, a year before Constantinople's fall (Woodhouse 1986: 3).

soil. Following this genealogy: Πλήθων ἐγέννησε τὸν Βελμίννην καὶ Βελμίννης ἐγέννησε τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν. As a native of Zante who is half Venetian and bears a foreign name, Velminnis ἦταν [for Papadiamantis] ὁ καταλληλότερος γιὰ νὰ προτυπώσει καὶ νὰ ἐνσαρκώσει στὸ μυθιστόρημα τὴ δυτικὴ οὐμανιστικὴ ἀντίληψη γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαία Ἑλλάδα (Triantafillopoulos 1992: 28-29).

In fact, as outlined in the previous chapter, Papadiamantis frequently chooses protagonists such as Augusta in *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν*, or Barba Pipis in *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο*, who, like Velminnis, are of dual nationality (in each of these cases, half-Venetian). Furthermore, despite Papadiamantis' strictures against Plethon's polytheism, the Neoplatonist is not portrayed in entirely negative terms. On the contrary, he is described as an ardent nationalist who seeks to revive Greece by an appeal to its classical past. As the narrator remarks: Ἦτο εἷς ἐκ τῶν ὀλιγίστων, οἵτινες εἶχον συνείδησιν του ἐθνισμοῦ, καὶ ἡ καρδία του ἐφλέγετο ὑπὸ φιλοπατρίας (I.469.6-8). In fact, Plethon - although branded by the narrator as an apostate - is consistently linked to notions of ἔθνος. As a young man, the philosopher devised a new system of government (τέλειον σύστημα πολιτικῆς καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀνοργανώσεως I.469.18), which, the narrator declares, had it been implemented, might well have averted the present catastrophe.

The political and religious groupings in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* are more complex, therefore, than a straight-forward juxtaposition between East and West, Orthodoxy and Humanism. Papadiamantis' narrator discloses that within Orthodoxy itself there are those for and against union with Rome; those, like Plethon's former pupil Cardinal Bessarion, who see such a union as a salvation and those, like George Scholarios, who perceive it as a threat which would trigger further schisms within the sees of the Patriarchate. Even this opposition is qualified by Papadiamantis, for Scholarios is portrayed as devoid of humour and his bitter

and fanatical anti-unionist stance is attributed in part to his failure at the Council of Florence.[23]

Although the narrator condemns Plethon's idolatry, he is also critical of Christian religious practice. Thus, he refers to the fanatical monks who have destroyed Greece's classical heritage (ἐκ τῆς φανατικῆς μανίας τῶν μοναχῶν I.468.6). Moreover, when the Protoyiftos asks how Plethon and his followers worship their statues, one of the protagonists answers, ὅπως οἱ χριστινανοὶ προσκυνοῦν τὰς εἰκόνας" (I.413.17).

In *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα*, then, the narrator describes the numerous overlapping and sometimes antagonistic groupings which exist within the Orthodox community, on the eve of the fall of Constantinople. He portrays the drifting apart of the interests of state and Church, as the Emperor's concern is with the preservation of the Empire, while the Patriarch's is with the unity and well-being of the Orthodox, many of whom already live under Turkish rule. In contrast, Plethon represents a new Greek nationalism associated with the term "Hellene", an anathema to many clerics who see it as an abandonment of the ecumenical idea (cf. Woodhouse 1986: 7).

"Greece" in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* is represented as a contested ground where different religions and their divergent interpretations of the past struggle for preeminence. On the level of the plot this contest is articulated through the fate of the heroine Aïma. As the narrator himself remarks, Aïma's orphanhood, and her mysterious ancestry, become an allegorical representation (ὡς πρόσωπον ἀλληγορικόν I.622.8) of Greece's Orthodox and classical heritage.[24] Moreover, on the eve of Constantinople's fall

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23."George Scholarius himself did not strike all his contemporaries as being fully Orthodox" Runciman observes, and for a full discussion of Scholarius' views see Runciman (1985: 125-127) and Woodhouse (1986: 13-16).

24.Orphanhood is an important motif in Papadiamantis' fiction, from his first novels *Ἡ Μετανάστις* and *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* where the heroines Marina and Augusta are both orphans, to the later stories. In these texts, orphanhood

Aïma is visited by the City's spirit (I.390-392) and according to one version of her origins Aïma is in fact a royal child (I.639.27-33). Another version maintains that she is the product of Apollo's union with a mortal woman (I.639.26).

In the turbulent sea of political and religious conflict, Aïma is cut adrift. Δὲν ἤξευρα ποῦ εὑρισκόμουν she declares at one point in the narrative, ἤμουν εἰς ἕνα χαμένον κόσμον (I.524.3-4). Significantly, Aïma is brought up among gypsies who remain on the fringes of society, neither belonging fully to the local community, nor totally outcast. When she has been taunted by the villagers that οἱ γύφτοι δὲν ἔχουν ἐκκλησίαν (I.388.33), Aïma asks the Protoyiftos if it is true. He is unable to answer. For the Protoyiftos, money is the chief incentive and in the world of Papadiamantis' early novels the flow of capital becomes a metaphor for the fluidity that threatens to destroy any communality (see chapter 6). On the other hand, there are frequent attempts to incarcerate Aïma; first in the monastery and subsequently in Plethon's cave, where she is killed when a statue of the goddess Artemis crushes her (I.655-656). In *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* Papadiamantis explores the conflicts between competing religious communities and their rival claims for historical legitimacy. At the same time, he examines the relationship of these communities to an emergent nationalism and explicitly links his narrative to the political and social tensions of contemporary Greece (e.g. 642.15-16).

Papadiamantis' texts therefore enquire into the reciprocal relations between Greek religious culture and ethnic identity, demonstrating in the process, how the Church relates to boundary situations and constitutes "a powerful mediation between individual and public life" (Kokosalakis

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becomes symbolic of Greece's own alienation from her traditions. As Papadiamantis declares in his article *Οἰωνὸς*: Ἠμύνθησαν περὶ πάτρης οἱ ἄστοργοι πολιτικοί, οἱ ἐκ περιτροπῆς μητρυιοὶ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου ὠρφανισμένου Γένους... (V.253.24-25).

1987: 39). Numerous stories, such as *Ὁ Διδάχος* [1906], expose the ideological inconsistencies between an individual's private code, doctrinal precepts and an aggressive nationalist creed. Theodoros Hrisovoullidis, the protagonist of *Ὁ Διδάχος*, for example, typifies many of the comic protagonists of Papadiamantis' later work - such as Barba Markos in *Ἄλλος τύπος* - who are unable to integrate prevailing social and religious convictions into a guiding dogma. Hrisovoullidis is a preacher who founds a series of misconceived religious societies which meet with little success. While the narrator satirizes what he calls τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς θρησκείας, καθὼς καὶ τὸ τοῦ πατριωτισμοῦ (IV.147.5), he exposes Hrisovoullidis' rhetoric for what it is: a miscellany of national anxieties, commercial ambition and personal vanity.[25]

If the Church crosses the threshold of the domestic environment, turning the house into a miniature religious community, so, reciprocally, do secular values break into the sacred sphere. Not only are the worldly vanity of ecclesiastical figures like the archbishop in *Ἡ Ἐπίσκεψις τοῦ ἁγίου Δεσπότη* [1906] satirized, but religious texts themselves become susceptible to literal and legalistic interpretations. In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, for example, the lawyer representing Kotsos' mother Sofoula against her husband's claims of infidelity, uses a biblical passage from St. Luke in his argument. Here, the Scriptures become the site of contending civil definitions of morality,[26] just as

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25.These texts demonstrate how religious sects such as the one founded by Apostolis Makrakis (1831-1905), and known as Makrakismos, draw their influence largely by exploiting these tensions. In fact Makrakis, who founded numerous religious "groups" and dabbled in politics, without much success, is surely a model for protagonists like Hrisovoullidis (cf. Bora and Bouzinelou 1993). For discussions of Makrakismos in Papadiamantis' fiction, see *Ἡ Μακρακιστίνα* [1906] and *Ὁ Ἀειπλάνητος* [1903] (III.575-576).

26.See Papadiamantis' article *Ἱερεῖς τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἱερεῖς τῶν χωρίων* where he condemns the increasing secularist education of the ἱερατικαὶ σχολαὶ which produce more lawyers, doctors, and civil servants, than good priests (V.195.5-9).

the landscape itself registers competing claims to possession. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the narrator remarks of Frangoyannou's dowry:

> Τοῦ ἔδωκε...κ' «ἕνα πινάκι χωράφι», ἓν ἀγριοχώραφον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀμφεσβήτει ὁ γείτονας ὡς ἰδικόν του· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι γείτονες ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ τὰ δύο χωράφια διὰ τὰ ὁποῖα ἐμάλωναν οἱ δύο ἦσαν καταπατημένα, καὶ ἦσαν «καλογερικά», ἀνήκοντα εἰς μίαν διαλυθεῖσαν Μονήν (III.421.13-19).

The narrator's comments on the murderess' ambiguous inheritance recall the dispossession and appropriation of ecclesiastical property in the post-revolutionary administration and the dissolution of numerous monasteries (cf. Mc Grew 1985: 136-149). At the same time, the disputed dowry reflects deep-rooted historical tensions between private interests, secular priorities and religious creeds. In this way, the tension inscribed in the landscape forms part of a larger ambivalence in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, where religious and social texts are construed as contested grounds, and where the outcome of the contest turns out to be, quite literally, a matter of life or death.

3

READING THE LANDSCAPE

In the discussions of the state and the Church as they are textualized in Papadiamantis' fiction, considerable attention has been paid to the ways in which communities are territorialized; be it in the context of a local landscape (provincial or urban), or within the larger geographical scope of the nation-state. The preceding chapters have stressed the significance placed in Papadiamantis' texts on the spatial, geographical orientation of the protagonists. Often characters look out over their immediate environment, scanning a horizon of conspicuous landmarks which lie within, or beyond, the frontiers of the state. At the beginning of *Ἡ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα* [1894], for example, the narrator gazes out over a prospect that extends from the island's local bays as far as Mount Olympus and Mount Athos - reference points in a cultural expanse associated with classical mythology, Orthodox Christianity, and Greek history (III.71-72).

Importance is attached to sight and to a perceptual vocabulary in the stories, since Papadiamantis evokes a largely visual concept of space. If space is acted in, it is also contemplated. In the first case, space is traversed; it is staked out with references and becomes "a topography of action" (Catteau 1989: 412). But space is also invested with attributes and associated with the protagonists' subjective visions.[1] Frequently characters lose themselves

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1. If toponymic practices suggest the close identification of people and places, the names of Papadiamantis' characters often echo the names of locations. Mackridge, for example, has observed that Polimnia's name in *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* echoes the word for lake (λίμνη) (1993: 180), thereby pointing to the reciprocity between place and identity. In *Θέρος-Ἔρος*, Fotini's close relationship with the location known as Dragasia, is intimated by the narrator when he

in their efforts to locate a specific landmark. Thus, in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν* the narrator gets lost on the hillside trying to find the oak tree (III.329.31-32). In *Ὁ Ἀλιβάνιστος* [1903] Papa Garofalos takes the wrong path on the way to church (III.526). As in this last story, protagonists who are lost are often recovered in the landscape by a third party. Thus, the abandoned child narrator in *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* [1900] is rescued by two women who have been sent out to search for him (III.248). Similarly, the disorientated cantor Barba Konstantos in *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* is extricated by shepherds who hear his cries for help (II.535). In each of these texts there is a persistent interest in sight, in the characters' orientation in space, and their relationship with the landscape.

As Anthony Synnott has remarked, "sight is both subjective and culturally relative" in the sense that the meanings imposed upon visual reality are both personal values and interests, as well as cultural norms (1993: 219). Sight does not escape the control of discourse (cf. Bryson 1981). There is, for example, an acute attention to the problems of optical perception in *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα* [1900], as in the episode when the narrator returns from the liturgy with his cousin Mahoula: ἐνίοτε ἦτο σελήνη, συνήθως ὅμως ἦτο σκότος βαθύ (III.225.21). In the darkness the pilgrims stumble on the path and a candle (τὸ ἀπόκερον) which has been taken from the church candelabrum is extinguished in the wind (III.226.9-10). As Farinou-Malamatari has pointed out, throughout this text details pertaining to sight are juxtaposed to darkness and invisibility, just as the white sheet which enshrouds the narrator and his cousin is pitted against the surrounding blackness (1987: 252). The moral connotations of sight, which culminate in the protagonist's vision, are thus explored by demonstrating the extent to

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exclaims ἐκεῖ, εἰς τὴν Δραγασιάν, «τὴν εἶχαν ἀσφαλοκόψει» (II.189.4). In *Φλώρα ἢ Λάβρα* [1925], the narrator remarks of a plot of land called «τοῦ Βασιλιᾶ»: Ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶ ἂν τὸ κτῆμα ὠνοσμάσθη ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τὸ κτῆμα (IV.559.8-9). For a discussion of the reciprocal relationship between naming practices and land ownership in rural Greece, see Kenna (1976).

which perception is inextricably bound up with an inherent system of cultural values (e.g. sight/blindness, evil/goodness, sin/purity). Just as "there is no vision without purpose", so too is the world "already clothed in our styles of representation" (Mitchell 1986: 3).

The present chapter focuses on Papadiamantis' preoccupation with sight and the visual, concentrating on the different and sometimes competing significances invested in sight. It analyses the ways in which landscape is textualized in Papadiamantis' fiction and the manner in which physical settings are read by specific communities, so that it is possible to speak of a community's "visual beliefs" (cf. Bryson 1981: 9). In the foregoing discussion of *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, in Chapter 1, Frangoyannou's intimacy with the local topography was explored in some detail, as it contributed to her attempts to elude the authorities. Expanding upon the relationship between sight, geography, and the efforts of protagonists to conceal themselves in the landscape, the present chapter demonstrates the manner in which Papadiamantis inquires into the social dimension of sight, as well as the symbolic properties of place; specifically, Man's proclivity to invest landscape with meanings which are cognizable only to those within the territorialized community. Attention is also paid to the alienation experienced by protagonists; an estrangement which is often expressed as a protagonist's visual failure and his or her inability to discern hidden objects. In turn, the relationship between concealment and visibility reflects a wider social tension between public and private space. Characters often see and evaluate the same things differently or, alternatively, what is discernible to one character remains invisible to another, as in the protagonist's hallucinations in *Ἡ Χτυπημένη* [1890] (II.137.4-6), or Yeorgakis' vision in *Τ'Ἀγγέλιασμα* [1912]:

-Νά τος! νά τος! ἔκραξε ἔξαλλος ὁ καπετὰν Γεωργάκης, δεικνύων ἀριστερώτερα ὀλίγον τοῦ μέρους, ὅπου εἶχε πέσει ἡ ράβδος.
Ὁ Πέτρος ἐσηκώθη, κ'ἔκαμε τὸν σταυρόν του.
-Δὲν βλέπω τίποτε, ἀδελφέ μου! (IV.402-403).

In his fiction Papadiamantis explores the manner in which individuals form part of a "textual community" (cf. Stock 1983, 1993); that is to say, they belong to social groups which "cluster around a shared reading of a text" (Duncan and Duncan 1988: 117). As outlined in the introduction, the term textuality is not applicable solely to the literary text, although the literary text serves as a paradigm, but

is equally applicable to other cultural constructs such as architecture, or landscape. Thus, while "in human geography the interpretation of landscape and culture has a tendency to reify landscape as an object of empiricist investigation", nevertheless, "often its practitioners do gesture towards landscape as a cultural symbol or image, notably when likening landscape to a text and its interpretation to reading" (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 1). In the case of landscape, even illiterate members may be affiliated to a textual community, while "the meanings of verbal, visual and built landscapes have a complex interwoven history" (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 1).

The increasing engagement of geographers with literary theory in analyses of landscapes has demonstrated the extent to which landscapes are "read" in much the same way as literary texts are read (cf. Rose 1980). It has also shown the extent to which geography - whether in the field of landscape studies, or of cartography - is incorporated into the social process through which meaning is produced and transformed. The pertinence of such insights to literary studies is manifold. In the first place it provides an alternative to the largely polarized critical approaches to landscapes in literary texts. This is exemplified, in the case of Papadiamantis criticism, by formalist readings of

the literary texts which ignore any extraneous contextual considerations, and by what might be called the historical-biographical approach, which tends to treat the literary text referentially. In the former approach landscape is treated on the level of description, as a rhetorical device that operates within the cloistered ensemble of the literary text. In the latter, landscape is taken as an "unproblematic ground or a gold standard" (LaCapra 1983: 19).

The textual approach to landscape espoused by cultural geographers suggests, however, that landscape cannot be taken as a neutral backcloth. The geographer's task is thus to disclose the ideological underpinnings of a cultural product which is accepted as natural and in so doing, demonstrate the formative role assigned to landscape in the social process. Correspondingly, the notion of a "textual community" intimates that the literary text cannot be treated in isolation from other cultural products, like architecture and landscape, with which it interacts.

The present chapter therefore aims to show the extent to which Papadiamantis - at a period in modern Greek history when geographical expansion and more specifically, irredentism, formed part of the nation's unifying ideology - engages with notions of territorial communities in his work.[2] In the process, Papadiamantis suggests that such communities, although they are held to be "universal and normative", are, in fact, "contingent" (Gellner 1993: 7). If Chapters 1 and 2 have concentrated on the larger communities of the nation-state and Church, the present chapter pays particular attention to local landscapes, since local landscapes, no less than national geographies, are social constructs which can be "read" in much the same way as literary texts.

2.As Beaton has observed, many Greek writers of the period such as Karkavitsas, Ioannis Kondylakis (1862-1920) and Vizyinos, situated their work outside, or on the borders of the state (1988b: X).

Ways of Seeing: Hide and Seek

The landscape in Papadiamantis' fiction is textualized as "a way of seeing rather than reducible to a series of physical traits" (Jackson 1992: 181).[3] There is an insistence throughout the texts on the importance of sight, visibility and indeed on their absence, as well as on the inextricable relationship between sites and sights. Often the narratives are structured around a visual dynamics. In *Σταγόνα νεροῦ* [1906], for example, the narrative is divided into three central sections which correspond to an expansive and contracted vision. In the first part, the narrator describes the spectacular view (ἁπλώνεται ἀχανὴς ἡ θέα IV.123.3) from the summit of the hill where the villagers have gone to celebrate the feast-day of St. John the Baptist (29 August). Looking down from the height, the pilgrims on the paths below resemble swarming ants (IV.123.7-8), while the women cry out in anguish as they behold the boats tossing in the sea (IV.123.15-20).

In the second section, the emphasis is on a contracted vision. In contrast to the sweeping overview, sight here is impeded by the lack of light and the attention switches to a localized outlook; the narrator remarking that he has left the church in order to savour τὴν ἄπειρον σκιαυγῆ θέαν (IV.124.7-8). Through the semi-darkness Yioryis Angelis catches sight of the narrator and offers him water (IV.124.19-21). When, however, Yiannis Manolas - who has seen the narrator drinking (IV.124.23) - asks for water, Yioryis conceals the flask behind a bush (IV.124.26). The narrator notes that it is impossible for Yiannis to walk to the spring which is some way off, since it is dark and the terrain is treacherous (IV.125.6-8).

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3. In this context, see Cosgrove's article - which draws on John Berger's insight [1972] - where landscape is defined as "a way of seeing, a composition and structuring of the world so that it may be appreciated by a detached, individual spectator" (1985: 55). The perspectival aspects of landscape are emphasized in most expositions of the term. See, in this respect, Olwig (1993: 318).

Finally, in the third part, the perspective widens once more, although this time the narrator offers a bifocal, bird's-eye-view of the scene. As Yiannis' boat is sinking, two shepherds look down from the hill:

> 'Εκοίταζαν ἀνωφελῶς κ'ἐκινοῦντο ἀτάκτως, ἐκβάλλοντες ἐξάλλους φωνὰς παραθαρρύνσεως, δι'ὧν ἀπήντων εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου φερομένας καὶ μὴ ἀκουομένας κραυγὰς τῆς ἀγωνίας τῶν δύο ναυβατῶν (IV.126.2-4).

Sight here is contrasted to action, and indeed, to voice. At the same time, the shepherds' outlook is implicitly juxtaposed to the women's earlier view from the hill as they watched the boats. The narrator observes that the women and the priests have now left so that there is nobody to light a candle for the drowning sailors, or to chant a supplication (IV.125.16-19).

In short, the narrative impetus of *Σταγόνα νεροῦ* is generated largely through a perceptual dynamics that links seemingly disparate episodes together. The story explores the centrality of sight in religious practice and examines the relationship between vision and action. In the first place the women respond to the "prospect" of danger and death by lighting candles in front of the icon (IV.123.20). This symbolic gesture underlines the inalienable connection between the icon as image (sight) and as an indispensable part of religious practice (action). Seeing, here, is quite literally believing. In contrast to the women, however, the narrator, like the two shepherds, remains inactive when confronted by danger, or deceit. When Yioryis conceals the flask of water from Yiannis the narrator does not intervene(IV.124-125). Indeed, the act of concealment and deceit parodies the icon which is "a revelation and evidence of things hidden".[4]

4.St. John of Damascus, quoted in Lossky and Ouspensky (1989: 42).

Papadiamantis' narratives frequently centre on indeterminate threshold moments between night and dawn, between sleep and wakefulness, or on events that take place in the half-light of the moon. Often sound, which gives rise to an "acoustic space" (cf. Schaffer 1979), presages vision, while ambiguous lighting creates optical illusions; it underlines both the limitations of visual perception as the protagonist peers into the half-darkness, as well as the failures to which the physical eye is prone.[5] In the short story *Τὰ Κρούσματα*, for example, the young protagonist Falkos mistakes the stump of a burned tree for an old lady and the trunk of a fig tree for the body of a man (III.550.12-25).[6] If sight and seeing are generally metaphors of intelligibility and paradigmatic of knowledge, Papadiamantis exploits the ambiguities of an ocular vocabulary to explore the relations between illusion and revelation, appearances and reality. In the half-light of dawn or dusk, the protagonist or narrator strives to discern familiar landmarks through a veil of semi-obscurity. Moreover, the landscape itself is associated with imaginative faculties, as the protagonist, deprived of clear visibility, imagines his whereabouts.

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5. James Krasner has argued persuasively that such visual disruption and the adoption of a narrative eye characterized by misprision, illusion and limitation is a distinctive feature of post-Darwinian narrative (1992: 6-7). For a discussion of contemporary nineteenth-century preoccupations with the visual, see Briggs' chapter "The Philosophy of the Eye" (1990: 103-141). Papadiamantis' texts refer to spectacles, telescopes and binoculars (e.g. II.120.1, 343.3, III.119.30 etc.).

6. In this text, acoustic space pre-empts ocular space as Falkos hears a moaning (μούγκρισμα) in the darkness: ἕνα κρότον καὶ μίαν ἀλλόκοτον φωνήν...ὡσὰν μούγκρισμα (III.553.9-12). See also *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια*, where the narrator hears a noise (κρότος) and the thundering (ρόχθος) of a mountain stream before he sees a tree blazing in the moonlight (III.308.6-24). Another example of sound presaging vision occurs, as Keti Hiotelli notes, at the beginning of *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* (1981: 363). Finally, as Kotzias has commented, in *Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ* Papadiamantis κατόρθωσε νά περιγράψει θαυμάσια δύο ἀποκριάτικα γλέντια ταυτόχρονα, στό ἰσόγειο καί στόν πρῶτο ὄροφο τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, ἐπιτρέποντας κυρίως νά τ'«ἀκούσουμε» δίχως νά τά «βλέπουμε» (1992: 51).

One example of Papadiamantis' emphasis on the visual is the short-story *Ἔρως-ἤρως* [1897], where the opening paragraphs of the text focus on the protagonist's half-wakefulness. Although his eyes are open (ἀνοικτὰ τὰ ὄμματα) Yioryis is described as being asleep and compared to the mythical dragon which, even while it rests, remains vigilant (III.165.7-8). The conflation of sleep with vision and dream is developed later in the narrative when Yioryis is confronted by hallucinatory visions:

> Ἐξαφνα εἶδε νοερὰν ὀπτασίαν, τὴν μορφὴν τῆς μητρός του τῆς Μπούρμπαινας, ἐναέριον, παλλομένην (III.182.13-15).

In addition, as he rows the boat with his passengers, including the young bride Arhonto for whom he harbours an undeclared passion, Yioryis is overcome by a sense of unreality at the scene before him:

> Ἦτο ὄνειρον μαγικόν, ἀπαίσιον καὶ τρομερόν, ὄνειρον τὸ ὁποῖον ἔβλεπε μὲ ἀνοικτὰ τὰ μάτια, Κ'ἐσφαλοῦσε τὰ μάτια, καὶ ἀκόμη τὸ ἔβλεπε (III.178.19-21).

The use of the verb βλέπω in conjunction with the noun όνειρο is a characteristic locution in modern Greek which goes back to Homer.[7] Reality here becomes a dream, but one which Yioryis confronts with open eyes.[8] The enigmatic dawn lighting of the landscape, which is reflected in Arhonto's face, is explicitly linked to the protagonist's vision. In

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7.As E.R. Dodds remarks: "The Greeks never spoke as we do of *having* a dream, but always of *seeing* a dream - ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἐνύπνιον ἰδεῖν" (1959: 105).

8.The juxtaposition of different kinds of sight (empiric/fantastic) recurs in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*, where Lenio's macabre vision (συνήθιζε συχνὰ νὰ βλέπῃ ὀπτασίας II.546.31-32) is contrasted to Skevo gazing out of her window at the anchored boats. As the narrator remarks in a statement that indicates the fluid boundaries between objective and subjective perception: τῆς ἐφαίνετο ὡς συνέχεια τῆς ὀπτασίας, τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχεν ἰδεῖ ἡ Λενιὼ (II.547.16-17).

the first place, Yioryis' glinting eyes are compared to the shimmering of the melancholic and somnolent sea:

> Καὶ ὁ φωσφορισμὸς τοῦ κύματος ἀπήντα εἰς τὸν σπινθηρισμὸν τοῦ ὄμματος τοῦ ναύτου (III.165.17-18).

The boy's open eyes are also recalled in the detail of the illuminated, open windows of Arhonto's festive house (III.165.20-21). Characteristically, for Papadiamantis, in *Ἔρως-ἥρως* half-darkness and the exchange of glances are metaphors for the irresolute movement of Man towards the Other:[9]

> Μίαν φορὰν μόνον ἐκοίταξε τὴν Ἀρχόντω. Τὸ βλέμμα ἐκεῖνο ἦτον ἡ τελευταία συγκεντρωμένη ἀκτὶς τῆς ψυχῆς του. Εἶτα ἐκείνη κατεβίβασε τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ τὸ ἰδικόν του ὄμμα κατέστη ἀπλανές (III.178.28-30).

It becomes evident in *Ἔρως-ἥρως* that more than an evocation of the material world, the text concentrates on Yioryis' projection of his subjective feelings onto the space around him. At the same time, the protagonist strives to render the world intelligible through his vision, while his sight is repeatedly obstructed. Not only is his mother a κρυφὴ γυναίκα (III.171.2) who conceals the fact of Arhonto's wedding from him, but the girl's mother ensures that both the preparations for the engagement and the wedding take place κρυφά (III.171.7). In the narrative of *Ἔρως-ἥρως*, Yioryis attempts to visualize experiences and events which are kept hidden from him. Indeed, one of the story's most poignant images is that of the young Yioryis peering at Arhonto through an aperture in a door:

9.See, here, Jacques Catteau's pertinent analysis of "sighting and seeing" in Dostoevsky, where he remarks: "Half-darkness and the exchange of glances are spatial metaphors for this eternal hesitant movement of man towards the Other person, composed of flux and reflux" (1989: 439).

Κι αὐτὸς ἀπ'ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν μικρὸν αὐλόγυρον ἤκουε τοὺς ψιθυρισμοὺς καὶ τὰ κορασιώδη καμώματα, κ'ἐκολλοῦσε τὸ μάτι του στὴν χαρασμίδα τῆς πόρτας, διὰ νὰ ἰδῇ, ὁποὺ τὴν εἶχαν μανδαλωμένην ἀπὸ μέσα, κλείσασαι αὐτὸν ἔξω, αἱ σκληραὶ καὶ τρυφεραὶ καὶ φίλαυτοι (III.169.22-25).

Here, Yioryis' social alienation is expressed in visual terms, a motif which recurs in Papadiamantis' fiction. The character's impeded sight gives rise to a vision which imagines the world from which the onlooker is excluded.

A reading of *Ἔρως-ἤρως* suggests, therefore, that notions of sight are intimately related to ideas of social inclusion and exclusion. It is a theme that is developed in texts such as *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* [1900], *Οἱ Μάγισσες* and *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα*. In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, the climax of the narrative focuses on the protagonist as he descries a naked young girl swimming in the sea. The importance of sight is emphasized by the narrator's magnetized attraction to Moschoula's nudity, and to his apprehension that the girl might spy him on the shore. In this text the ocular imagery is invested with contradictory meanings. On the one hand sight is evoked as a divine faculty which enables the shepherd to contemplate the girl's heavenly body. On the other hand, sight is associated with ascetic distrust and the naked girl becomes a γυναικεῖον πειρασμόν (III.269.2).

As in *Ἔρως-ἤρως*, the episode takes place in a half-light - this time at dusk - which highlights the tension between the positive and negative connotations of sight; a tension expressed in biblical terms by associations of light with the divine and yet distrust of the eye as a source of temptation and sin.[10] In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* there is both an attention to the narrator's voyeuristic inclinations, and

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10.For a discussion of the eye as a source of evil in rural Greece, see Stewart (1991: 232-237); for a more discursive treatment of the eye's maleficence, see Maloney (1976).

to his conflation of sight and dream. In fact, there is a progression in the text from objective statements relating to the protagonist's physical sight, to conjectural statements and finally an admission that, for the narrator, distinctions between dream and physical perception have ceased to be meaningful. Thus, the verb βλέπω is repeated, while the narrator declares that the spectacle of the young girl bathing ἦτον ἀπόλαυσις, ὄνειρον, θαῦμα (III.269.27). Subsequently, the verb changes to μαντεύω as the protagonist guesses the parts of Moschoula's anatomy which he cannot distinguish. Finally, sight and dream are brought directly together in a phrase that is repeated: δὲν ἐχόρταινα νὰ βλέπω τὸ ὄνειρον (III.270.15, 20).

Confined in his Athenian office which looks out on to the claustrophobic space of a courtyard and is indirectly associated with darkness (III.262.5), the narrator recalls a time when he was free to roam a pastoral landscape. In contrast to the cramped urban setting from which he writes, the freedom of the protagonist's youthful existence is expressed by the open country space of sweeping vistas: Ἡ πετρώδης, ἀπότομος ἀκτή μου, ἡ Πλατάνα, ὁ Μέγας Γιαλός, τὸ Κλῆμα, ἔβλεπε πρὸς τὸν Καικίαν... (III.262.22-23). Similarly, the narrator's ability to see is also stressed in the first lines of the story, where the eye becomes symbolic of the narrator's "I", as he bends down, like Narcissus, and observes his own sunburned profile in the mountain streams (III.260.4-5). Later - to use Papadiamantis' description from his article *Οἰωνὸς* - the shepherd attempts to see himself reflected ὄχι εἰς τὸ φεῦγον ρεῦμα τοῦ ρύακος, ἀλλ'εἰς τὸ ἀεικίνητον βλέμμα τῆς κόρης (V.252.11-12).

Yet, despite his insistence on the idyllic nature of his shepherd days, the narrator's recollections suggest that even in his youth he was alienated. In the first place, the shepherd is proscribed from the company of Moschoula who inhabits a πύργος, or mansion, set in a walled estate (see

Chapter 5). Anticipating the later scene, when the narrator looks down upon the naked girl, Moschoula twice opens a window in the πύργος and looks down on the protagonist (III.264-65).

Moreover, in the culminating episode, as he contemplates the bathing girl, the protagonist is imprisoned by sight; petrified, lest he be spied from below. Visibility here constricts, even while it underscores the distance which separates the protagonist from the girl. Indeed, the shepherd's apprehensiveness of being seen leads to the goat's death. By the same token, as in *Ἔρως-ἤρως*, the boy's obstructed sight incites fantasy visions of erotic union which are undermined by the bald admission: Σπανίως τὴν εἶδα ἔκτοτε (III.273.3).

The narrative of *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* explores the two-way process of seeing and being seen, which is never completed.[11] Instead, the story consistently underlines "the split between the eye and the gaze", thereby questioning - to paraphrase Jacques Lacan - the status of the watchful subject, who depends, for his integrity, upon reflexive acts of "seeing himself see" (1987: 81). From this perspective, the narrator's contemplation of his own past can be construed as a similar act of self-scrutiny.[12]

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11. In contrast, note the rare moment of mutually charged eye-contact in *Μικρὰ ψυχολογία* [1903]: Ἐκεῖνος ἐκοίταζε πρὸς τὰ ἔξω, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ ἔσω· τὰ βλέμματά μας συνηντήθησαν. Δυσκόλως δύναταί τις ν'ἀποφύγῃ τὴν διασταύρωσιν ταύτην τῶν βλεμμάτων ἢ καὶ ν'ἀποστρέψῃ τὸ βλέμμα, ἴσως διότι τὸ ὄμμα ἔχει μαγνήτην, καθὼς λέγουν (III.602.21-23).

12. The protagonist's physical sight in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* is implicitly juxtaposed to the "insight" he has gained from his education. See, here, Richard Blum's and Eva Blum's discussion of the folk tale in which a shepherd who finds his sheep dying tears out his eye as a remedy: "His eye becomes separate from himself, animated by itself, a will apart which can be blamed apart (recall the Biblical injunction: 'If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee' Matthew 5:29)...If one takes sight as understanding, as the instrument of insight, it is this which has caused the shepherd pain" (1970: 241-242).

Sight in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* is ambiguous since it suggests on the one hand freedom and on the other confinement. Just as the shepherd's obstructed sight leads to an imaginative vision which enhances that which he cannot see, so the inhibiting space of the lawyer's office, with its limited view, sparks off embellished recollections of an expansive youthful landscape.

In Papadiamantis' fiction the eye is central to social life. As in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, characters look into the past and foresee the future. Sight is a means of heavenly communion, but also a danger to the self. In *Θέρος-Ἔρος*, for example, the narrator stresses the visual dimension of the drama and the protagonists are symbolically named Ματὴ (μάτι = eye) and Φωτεινὴ (light).[13] The perceptual concerns in this text range from the complex web of spying which takes place between the characters, to the children's game of hide-and-seek, the sorceress' reading of the future, and Fotini's hanging of the garlic on a large plane tree to ward off the evil eye (II.189.28).[14] Kostis' letter alludes to the eye as a vehicle of passion (a κοινός *τόπος* in folk-poetry). Later, the hero places himself in a strategic position that affords a commanding view of the enclosure below, so that he can feast his eyes on his beloved (II.205.31-32). The eyes of the mountain-dweller - who is rarely seen (ἄνθρωπος σπανίως τὸν ἔβλεπεν II.200.29-30) - are described as dull (II.195.18) and implicitly contrasted to Mati's large, owlish eyes (II.185.1). Sight is therefore an expression of love and tenderness, but it also signals danger, violation

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13.The pun Mati/eye is drawn out, for example, when Stathakis shouts: Ματούλα! Ματούλα! ἰδὲ τί ηὗρα ἐκεῖ πέρα (II.189.32). Similarly, the first line of the story puns on the meaning of Fotini: Περὶ τὴν χαραυγήν, ἡ γραῖα Φωτεινὴ ἐξύπνισε τὰ παιδία (II.183.1).

14.As the Blums remark: "The evil eye symbolizes the intensity of community interaction; it indicates that each person is under observation by others" (1970: 221). As Synnott also points out, the associations of sight and surveillance by Others with danger and death is well-expressed by Jean-Paul Sartre in his chapter "Le Regard" from *Being and Nothingness* [1943]: "Through the Other's look I *live* myself as fixed in the midst of the world in danger" (Synnott 1993: 213).

and death. Indeed, the pernicious aspects of sight are intimated by the games which the children play in the enclosure:

> Οἱ παῖδες ἔτρεχον, ἐκρύπτοντο ἀμοιβαδὸν ὄπισθεν τοῦ κορμοῦ, ἐκάλυπτον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲ τὰς παλάμας, κ'ἐφώναζαν ὁ εἷς μὲ τὸν ἄλλον:
> -Σὲ εἶδα!
> -Θὰ σὲ πιάσω.
> -Σ'ἔπιασα!
> -Σὲ βλέπου, δὲ μὲ βλέπ'ς!
> -Πιάστε τον! (II.192.24-31).

Here, the children's game of hide-and-seek, with its overtones of violence, forestalls the wild goat-herd's invasion. Indeed, the children's game encapsulates the story's chief preoccupation with sight, where seeing itself becomes a form of trespass and violation. Moreover, the relationship between sight and intrusion is further stressed by the mountain-dweller's invasion through the small window of the cabin inside the enclosure (II.195.10-13). This takes place just as Mati is reflecting on two earlier incidents when Fotini had caught her looking at Kostis through the half-closed window of their town house (II.195.4-5). Earlier, the ever-vigilant Fotini had noticed Kostis through the window, sitting against an olive tree in the neighbour's property (II.191.20-22), while subsequently, Mati peers out of it, at the expansive view of the landscape. In short, the window, like the encircling wall of the garden, intimates a structuring, or ordering of experience. The landscape which is observed through the aperture is framed and reified as a cultural object.[15]

15.Kenneth Olwig observes that the window "frame" provided the structure for the earliest perspective drawings. He connects this "framing" of the landscape to the enclosing of the land itself, which was "being divided up according to the geometric coordinates of the map, to be sold and traded on the property market" (1993: 330-331). See, in this context, Farinou-Malamatari's discussion of *Θέρος-Ἔρος*, where she comments on Mati's ἀστικὴ ἠθικὴ and on her

The social aspects of sight are explored by Papadiamantis in texts such as *Χωρὶς στεφάνι* and *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα*, both stories published in consecutive months of the same year [1896], in the same newspaper *Ακρόπολις*. *Χωρὶς στεφάνι*, which is set explicitly in Athens, focuses on a protagonist called Hristina preparing for Easter celebrations inside her home. Socially ostracized since she has been living with a man who refuses to marry her, Hristina is ashamed to venture out and participate in the communal Easter festivities - more specifically, she does not dare attend the Easter mass. From the beginning the reader notes the narrative's acute attention to spatial configurations and the emphasis on visual perception. Confined inside her house, Hristina peers furtively through the window at the congregation coming and going from the church (III.132.22-28). When she finally plucks up courage to enter the church Hristina does so furtively, by a small side entrance (III.133.4-6). Inside the building she hides herself away at the back of the congregation, behind a column (III.134.23-26).

If the verb κοιτάζω is employed in the first sections of *Χωρὶς στεφάνι*, the verb βλέπω is used more frequently in the church description. This is a distinction made by the narrator, when he remarks that if the women *look at* Hristina - a phrase which carries connotations of judgemental scrutiny - the servants merely *see* her:

> Ἡ Χριστίνα ἡ Δασκάλα ἐφοβεῖτο τὰς νύκτας νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, μήπως τὴν κοιτάξουν, καὶ δὲν ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν ἡμέραν, νὰ μὴν τὴν ἰδοῦν. Διότι οἱ κυράδες τὴν ἐκοίταζαν, οἱ δοῦλες τὴν ἔβλεπεν ἁπλῶς· Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ἀνεύρισκε μεγάλην διαφοράν. (III.133.8-11).

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father's materialistic appreciation of land (1992: 73).

In this passage, the narrator offers the reader different views of sight and the manner in which being seen is "seen" by the protagonist. In *Χωρὶς στεφάνι* Papadiamantis suggests that Hristina's alienation is due partly to her castigation by a prejudiced society. At the same time, however, Hristina's withdrawal, her impulse to recoil from the sight of others, is tantamount to a negation of her own subjectivity. In this respect, sight and its impediment not only express the relationship between individuals or between an individual and society, but relate to questions of self-representation. As Synnott has remarked, the semiotics of the eye is symbolic of the self: "the eye is the I; and the I is the eye" (1993: 207).

This last issue of confinement and self-representation is explored in the short story *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα* where the protagonist, Siraïno, is sitting on the balcony of her paternal home finishing her embroidery for her dowry. As a girl of marriageable age, social convention forbids Siraïno from venturing out in the village, except on religious festivals (III.121.14-20). As she contemplates the view through the window, the protagonist strains her eyes to make out the details of one balcony in particular, which is the home of a rival whom she has not seen for many years:

> Δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ διακρίνῃ τίποτε. Ἦτο τόσον μακράν!...Ἔβλεπεν, ἔβλεπεν. Ἀλλὰ δὲν διέκρινε τίποτε. Ἔτεινε τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Εἰς μάτην, δὲν ἠμποροῦσε νὰ ἴδῃ (III.119.14-20).[16]

Finally, in exasperation, Siraïno takes out her father's old telescope and focuses it on her rival Malamo's balcony:

16.This idea of straining eyesight recurs in Papadiamantis. Thus, for example, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the narrator remarks of Frangoyannou: ἔβλεπεν, ἔβλεπεν, ἀνοιχτὰ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος (III.513.21).

> Ἡ νεᾶνις τὸ ἐκράτησε σιμὰ εἰς τὸ ὄμμα της ἐπὶ μακρὸν καὶ ἔβλεπεν, ἔβλεπεν ἀχόρταγα (III.120.1-2).

Siraïno's act of ocular trespass recalls numerous other episodes in Papadiamantis' texts, where protagonists spy upon one another. In *Τὰ Συχαρίκια* [1894], for example, the narrator remarks in an aside to the reader:

> Εἰς τοὺς μαχαλάδες, καταλάβατε, εἰς τοὺς μικροὺς τόπους, ἡ μία γειτόνισσα εἶναι κατάσκοπος τῆς ἄλλης γειτόνισσας. Οἱ τοῖχοι ἀκροῶνται, τὰ παράθυρα βλέπουν (III.31.17-19).

Similarly, in *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* the narrator alludes to his anonymous "friend" who used to shut himself in the chapel of St. George to pray, while, unbeknown to him, a shepherd boy would be looking at him through a crack in the door: κ'ἔβλεπε, χωρὶς νὰ τὸν βλέπῃς (II.380.21-33). Inside the church the protagonist believed that nobody could see him except for God and the saint (II.380.21-22). Significantly, the shepherd is employed by Barba Yiorgos who is himself prone to visions:

> δὲν ἐφείδετο νὰ διηγῆται εἰς πάντας ὅσας ὀπτασίας ἔβλεπε (ἁγίους, ἀγγέλους, δαίμονας, τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τελευταίαν κρίσιν, ὅλα τὰ ἔβλεπεν ὁ μακαρίτης) (II.380.3-5).

By juxtaposing Yiorgos' revelations against Alexandros' introspective ritual, the omniscience of God, and the shepherd's peeping, the narrative explores the interaction of different acts of seeing, as well as the relationship between "voyeurism and the corresponding hunger for self-exposure" (Bok 1984: 6). If impeded sight is linked to secrecy and implies a severance of connections between

public and private realms, acts of spying are aggressive, since they threaten the bounds which mark out an individual's inner space.[17] At the same time, as Vladimir Propp observed in his study of folk-tales [1928], "hiding invites probes, boundaries and prohibitions incite transgressions".[18]

In *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα* the perspective out of the window and the protagonist's urge to spy on her neighbour are contrasted to her cloistered existence as a girl inside the house. Siraïno is likened to Eve (III.121.1) and by implication sight becomes paradigmatic of knowledge. As in *Ἔρως-ἤρως*, the adverb κρυφά is repeated as Siraïno ventures out at dusk κρυφὰ εἰς τὴν μοναξίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ λυκόφως τῶν κανδηλῶν καὶ κηρίων (III.121.17-18). As the narrator remarks of Papa Frangoulis' daughter, Migdalio, in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο*:

> δὲν εἶχε *κρυφθῆ* ἀκόμη, ἤτοι δὲν ἀπείργετο τῆς κοινωνίας ὡς αἱ πρὸς γάμον ὥριμοι, καὶ ἀπέλαυε σχετικῆς τινος ἐλευθερίας (II.280.7-9).

Closeted inside the paternal house, Siraïno's roving eyes become a consolation and substitute for her confiscated freedom. Furthermore, as she looks through the telescope at a girl of the same age, sitting like her on a balcony, engaged in the same task of embroidering for her trousseau, Siraïno is offered a mirror image of herself.[19] In this way, Siraïno concurrently "sees and is seen", for as Maurice Merleau-Ponty has remarked:

> The enigma is that my body simultaneously sees and is seen. That which looks at all

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17.Gossip might be seen, in this context, as the verbal equivalent of spying, since it exposes what is hidden. There is an intimate relationship between spying and gossip. See, for example, Papadiamantis' story *Ἀπόλαυσις στὴ γειτονιὰ*.
18.Cited in Bok (1984: 32).
19.Malamo is literally and figuratively "overlooked" by Siraïno; that is, spied on and disavowed.

> things can also look at itself and recognize, in what it sees, the 'other side' of its power of looking. It sees itself seeing...[20]

This idea of reflected sight is further intimated by the subject of Malamo's textile composition, which is a representation of those small portions of sky, earth and sea, ὅσην ἀνατείνουσα αὐτὴ τὸ ὄμμα ἐθεώρει ἀπὸ τὸ μπαλκονάκι της (III.120.21-22).

As in the short stories discussed earlier, in *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα* Papadiamantis offers different views of sight. If the first half of the text concentrates on physical sight, the second half shifts to vision in the context of Siraïno's prophetic dream. By mistake, her aunt Zisena has given Siraïno the wrong *kolliva*, which portends disaster instead of life, so the young girl dreams of her own death. Εἶδεν ὄνειρα, the narrator asserts (III.128.11) and the repetition of the verb εἶδε in quick succession echoes the protagonist's earlier endeavour to discern her rival on the neighbouring balcony (III.128.13,14,19,21). Even though dream and physical sight are contrasted here, both visions offer Siraïno reflections of herself which are denied her by her isolation. Even if it augurs death, sight offers liberation from a coffin-like sequestration within the paternal house.

Perhaps the most poignant exploration of sight occurs in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, where Frangoyannou is consistently associated with darkness, shadow and blindness. In fact the narrative is pervaded with allusions to sight and visibility, whether in the form of proverbs (III.423.25) or statements like the one uttered by the murderess:

> Κανὲν πρᾶγμα δὲν εἶναι ἀκριβῶς ὅ,τι φαίνεται,
> ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἄλλο - μᾶλλον τὸ ἐναντίον
> (III.446.20-21).[21]

20.Quoted in Synnott (1993: 214).
21.Frangoyannou's statement echoes Macbeth's line "And

The novella begins with a description of Frangoyannou sitting μὲ σφαλιστὰ τὰ ὄμματα (III.417.1) in the half-light of a room which is sporadically illuminated by the flickers of a fire. Later, when a policeman opens the door of the shepherd's hut, where Frangoyannou is hiding, all he sees is darkness. The murderess is likened to a ghost (III.499.17) and she flits across the mountain side like an apparition, so that her pursuers are left to debate whether or not she has been seen:

> -Ψέματα λές! Ἐγὼ τὴν εἶδα!...
> Οὗτος ἐπέμενεν ὅτι εἶχεν ἰδεῖ τὸν ἴσκιον, τὸν «διακαμὸν» ἢ τὸ «διάνεμα», κάθως ἔλεγε, τῆς γραίας, ν'ἀναρριχᾶται ὡς γάττα εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ κρημνοῦ· Ὁ ἄλλος δὲν εἶχεν ἰδεῖ οὔτε ἰσχυρίζετο τίποτε (III.492.9-12).

The twin motifs of blindness and concealment recur and link Frangoyannou's flight to the tales of Delharo's escape and Mouros' skirmish with the law. Delharo hides in the shadow of a giant pine tree so that, as if by magic, her pursuers are blinded (ἐτύφλωσαν) and cannot see her (καὶ δὲν τὴν εἶδον II.420.10-12). After Frangoyannou's theft from her mother's buried hoard has been discovered, Delharo curses her with the words «στραβωμάρα εἶχεν!» (III.431.26). At the ceremony of her προικοσύμφωνο the murderess gesticulates to her fiancée, behind her mother's back and the narrator develops the double-entendre of the phrase εἰς μάτην (III.425.23). Subsequently, Mouros becomes blind with anger

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nothing is but what is not" (I.3.141). Macbeth's aside, which comes after the first appearance of the witches, introduces the related notions of "horrible imaginings", murder and vision. In fact, there are numerous parallels between Shakespeare's play and *Ἡ Φόνισσα*. Amersa's dream of the μαῦρο σημάδι (III.435.18) on the hand of the murderess, surely recalls the "damned spot" which stains Lady Macbeth's hands in her madness. Both texts focus on the deceptiveness of appearances and the contested interpretations of "sight" (e.g. in *Macbeth*: I.4.51-54, I.5.58-64, II.1.33-41 etc.). On Papadiamantis' knowledge of Shakespeare, see Damvouneli (1987: 107-108) and Drosinis (1979: 71).

(τυφλὸς ἐκ μανίας) when he believes his sister has betrayed his hiding place (III.439.32). People are blind (ἂν δὲν ἦσαν τυφλοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι), Frangoyannou insists, not to see that it would be better for children to die and go to Paradise rather than to remain on earth (III.446.28, 447.3).

The theme of concealment also recurs as Frangoyannou journeys to the the church of St. John, known locally as "the Secret" since it is literally hidden in the depths of an umbrageous valley, and sinners go there to confess their «κρυφὸν πόνον» ἢ κρυφὴν ἁμαρτίαν (III.459.32). Inside the church, the narrator remarks that the holy icons have been worn away and are almost indiscernible: τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Ἁγίων δὲν διεκρίνοντο πλέον (III.459.24-25). Moreover, this detail echoes the previous description of Frangoyannou's vigil in her daughter's house, when she lets the light go out in front of the icon:

> Ἡ μικρὰ κανδήλα πρὸ πολλοῦ εἶχε σβήσει εἰς τὸ εἰκονοστάσιον, καὶ αἱ μορφαὶ τῶν ἁγίων δὲν ἐφαίνοντο πλέον (III.453.22-24).

Just as Frangoyannou misreads ecclesiastical texts, so she is unable to make out the iconographical representations within the church.

When she visits Yiannis the gardener's house, Frangoyannou makes sure that she remains invisible (III.461). Significantly, the children are playing hide and seek: ἔπαιζον τὸ κρυφτάκι (III.469.22). This is a detail that anticipates Frangoyannou's own hide and seek game with the police on the mountains and which also recalls the preceding account of Delharo's concealment in Moraïtis' pine tree:

> Ἐκεῖ δὲν ἐκρύπτετο ἄλλως, εἰμὴ κατὰ φαντασίαν, μὲ παιδικὸν τρόπον, ὅπως παίζουσι τὸν κρυφτόν (III.419.30-31).

The emphasis on Frangoyannou's invisibility and the repetition of the word κρυφά, as well as the verb κρύπτω, are ironic in the light of texts such as *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα*, or *Χωρὶς στεφάνι*, which stress the social obligations of women to remain hidden, emerging from their houses only at religious festivals and then only κρυφά. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* Papadiamantis inverts social stereotypes by pushing social ideas of female concealment to their extreme. Ironically, like many of Papadiamantis' female protagonists, Frangoyannou is able to "see" her situation with clarity only when her eyes are closed and she is dreaming. As the narrator puts it in a sentence that echoes Solomos' celebrated line (Ἀνοιχτὰ πάντα κ'ἄγρυπνα τὰ μάτια τῆς ψυχῆς μου),[22] her soul has eyes:

> ἀμαυραὶ εἰκόνες τοῦ παρελθόντος, ἤρχοντο ἀλλεπάλληλοι ὡς κύματα μέσα εἰς τὸν νοῦν της, πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς της (III.429.5-7).

At the same time, Papadiamantis explores a new kind of sight which is associated with the state. Unlike Delharo's brigand pursuers, the institutionalized surveillance of the state, which Foucault called "the panoptic machine" (1977) is altogether more penetrating and persistent:

> Εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Τραχήλαινας τῆς κόρης της, ὅπου εὑρίσκετο μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς δύσεως τοῦ ἡλίου, δὲν ἔπαυε νὰ κοιτάζῃ ἀνήσυχος ἀπὸ τὸ παράθυρον...Ἡ Γιαννού, ἂν καὶ συχνὰ ἐκοίταζε, δὲν ἔβλεπε τίποτε...
> Ἡ κόρη της ἡ Δελχαρώ, εἶδε τὴν ἀνησυχίαν της, κι ἄρχισε νὰ κοιτάζῃ, ὅπως ἡ μήτηρ της, καὶ αὐτή. Τὴν ὥραν τῆς δύσεως τοῦ ἡλίου, αἴφνης μετὰ κρυφίου φόβου τὴν ἔκραξε:
> ...- Δυὸ ταχτικοὶ στέκονται καὶ κοιτάζουν ἔξω ἀπ'τὴν αὐλή, στὸ σπίτι σας...(III.473-474).

22.From the poem *Ὁ Πόρφυρας* [written in 1847-49]. See Solomos (1986: 254).

The juxtaposition between the verbs κοιτάζω and βλέπω, recall the narrator's comments in *Χωρὶς στεφάνι*, while the architectural detail of the window, the half-light of dusk and the daughter's "hidden" fear are ocular details that reverberate throughout Papadiamantis' fiction.

Sight is dramatized as a social construct which is culturally determined and which can itself be seen in different ways, so that personal values interact with cultural norms. Acts of visual interpretation are also contrasted to acts of linguistic interpretation. Thus, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, after she has been caught by Liringos' mother-in-law in the act of killing her granddaughter, the murderess escapes from the hut only to run into the herdsman. Although the old woman's gesticulations are visible to Liringos, he is τόσον μακράν, ὥστε δὲν ἠδύνατο ν'ἀκούῃ τί αὕτη ἔλεγεν (III.510.31-32). When Frangoyannou invents the implausible story of his wife's imminent childbirth in order to explain the woman's agitation, the shepherd accepts it, and runs off to fetch the doctor (III.511). In this episode the narrator underlines the contextual aspects of sight. Liringos interprets what he sees in the framework of a fictitious narrative spun out by the murderess, thereby demonstrating, more generally, that the observer is "one who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations" (Crary 1990: 6). At the same time, the murderess' language serves to frame the visual continuum into a meaningful object of contemplation. As Jay remarks, "what is 'seen', is not a given, objective reality", but rather, "an epistemological field constructed as much linguistically as visually" (1986: 182).[23]

In the preceding analyses of selected Papadiamantis texts,

23.A similar incident takes place when, coming down from the chapel of St. John, Frangoyannou sees Yiannis the gardener's children playing by a well and construes this "sight" as a "sign" (III.462.16). The murderess' vision is here framed, or "read" in a context established by her earlier plea for the saint to provide a σημεῖο (III.460.19).

attention has been paid to the importance of sight; to the ambiguous significance invested in sight. Vision is associated with pleasure, but also with danger and death. In *Νεκράνθεμα* [1925], for example, the narrator contrasts his contemplation of domestic chores in Yioryios Sarris' well-tended garden, to the expansive view from the top of Kefala, looking out to sea. His pleasure at watching Yioryios, Maria and Foulio in their culinary activities, is conveyed explicitly through the repetition of the phrase ἀπόλαυσις νὰ βλέπῃ (IV.574,30, 575.3,5). In contrast, the prospect from Kefala is threatening, although the narrator declares, in a statement that tacitly acknowledges the changed nature of the sight: εἴχαμεν, ἄλλως μεγαλύτερον θέαμα ν'ἀπολαύσωμεν ἐκεῖ (IV.575.17). In the vastness of the horizon, which seems to stretch to infinity (τὸ ἄπειρον, τὸ ἀχανές IV.575.19-10), the protagonists feel their statures diminished (IV.575.17-18). The narrator spies a boat κρυμμένη, λησμονημένη ἴσως (IV.575.24), in the sand dunes below. Even if the outlook excites the gazers, it prompts recollections of dangers and death, as Kostakis recounts the story of his friend's drowning and his own near death at sea (IV.576.7-11). In *Νεκράνθεμα* a disjunction is intimated between the act of seeing which takes place within the boundaries of a domestic milieu (Sarris' garden), and the boundless vistas of the sea which threaten to engulf the spectator, literally and figuratively drowning him.

Sight in Papadiamantis is also linked to dreaming and to hallucinatory visions, just as nature itself is the place of illusions and hallucinations. Moreover, if vision is associated with temptation and danger, it also intimates freedom. Finally, characters in Papadiamantis' fiction spy on one another, survey their surroundings, calculate distances and depths; not only do they look out at other people, but they see themselves reflected in other people.

The connection between social identity (or being) and sight is further developed in the short story *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ*

χιόνια [1896], where the narrator pays particular attention to Barba Yiannios' invisibility, as well as his frustrated efforts to catch his neighbour's eye (significantly, she has large eyes: εἶχε μάτια μεγάλα III.106.24-25). Yiannios looks up at her windows (ἔρριπτε βλέμμα εἰς τὰ παράθυρα τῆς Πολυλογοῦς III.108.1-2) but the windows are shut against him (ἔβλεπε τὸ παράθυρο τῆς γειτόνισσας κλειστόν III.106.14) and his neighbour does not see him (δὲν ἐγύριζε μάτι νὰ τὸν ἰδῇ III.107.14). The repetition of the word κλειστός which is used of the sky (ὁ οὐρανὸς κλειστός III.107.10), as well as the intimate, cosy depiction of "Polilogou's" familial home, contrast to Yiannios' dilapidated, semi-ruined (μισογκρεμισμένον) house. There is an implicit linkage here between the protagonist's ontological insecurity as the parameters of his social identity dissolve in the face of his invisibility and the crumbling walls of his house. Just as the walls of his house do not contain him, so his ragged overcoat which he wears on his shoulders repeatedly slips from him, exposing him to the cold (III.107.6-7). If the house is linked with his emotional state (οἰκία καταρρέουσα, καρδία ρημασμένη III.109.6), so too, is the coat associated with the house: τὸν οἰκίσκον τὸν παλαιὸν καὶ καταρρέοντα, καὶ τὴν πατατούκαν τὴν λερὴν καὶ κουρελιασμένην (III.108.23-25). In *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὸ χιόνια* the protagonist is divested of any sense of autonomy and identity.

In contrast to "Polilogou" who is associated with light and voice, Yiannios is linked with darkness, shadow and inarticulateness (cf. Farinou 1981). The juxtaposition between sight and invisibility is bound up with a wider thematic opposition between black and white, darkness and light. The moon shines in the narrow street and Yiannios watches as the snow whitens the mountain in the dark (III.107.9-10).

Frustrated sight (or self-perception) in this story is not only linked to social alienation, but also to divine alienation, as the protagonist dreams (ἓν ξυπνητὸν ὄνειρον

III.108.14-15) of the snow covering all things from the all-seeing, absolute eye of God (στὸ μάτι τοῦ Θεοῦ III.108.12). In the final paragraphs the narrator describes Yiannios stumbling in the snow while he remains invisible to "Polilogou" from the window: καὶ τὸ παράθυρον πρὸ μιᾶς στιγμῆς εἶχε κλεισθῆ (III.110.8). In short, *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* explores the contingency of identity upon sight, as Yiannios is unable to define himself through the eyes of others. For identity - this text intimates - is constituted through self-knowledge and the recognition of the self by others. The protagonist - both literally and figuratively - loses his foothold in social life and experiences a dispersion of self.[24] While the walls of his house and his clothes no longer contain him, similarly, he is divested of all inner consistency and becomes as vacuous as the white snow which obliterates him.

Iconography and Geography

Section one has concentrated on sight; on notions of social inclusion and exclusion which are expressed visually. In the present section, sight is discussed in the context of a symbolic landscape which is "read" by a community in the same way as a literary text or a cultural icon. In many of Papadiamantis' stories, which are pervaded with extensive topographical details and evocations of landscape, the relationship between landscape and the literary, or verbal text is brought to the fore.[25] As Mackridge has remarked, *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* takes "its cue from two topoi: a red spot on the landscape and a text", or proverb (1992: 167). Landscape is a cue for memory and the topography in Papadiamantis'

24.The verb "fall" (πέφτω) is used both figuratively and literally in the story. Just as Yiannios slips (ἔπεσεν III.110.3) in the snow, so he falls in love (εἶχε πέσει εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα III.107.1) and takes to drinking (εἶχε πέσει εἰς τὸ κρασὶ III.107.4).

25.Papadiamantis' fiction has been compared to the fiction of Thomas Hardy (cf. Ricks 1988) and it is interesting to note a recent article by Jonathan Wike which discusses the ways in which Hardy textualizes his Wessex landscape which is read by his protagonists like a literary text (1993).

fiction is pervaded by such legible traces, becoming a βιβλίον ἔμψυχον (III.122.15).[26] Stories and legends saturate the landscape, staining the earth like the red spot in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος*, or the sweet smelling cluster of flowers which mark the young girl's grave in *Τὸ Νησὶ τῆς Οὐρανίτσας* [1902]. Places are the repositories of multiple biographies; open books (βιβλίον ἀνοικτόν III.155.14-15), which spell out a communal chronology.

If tradition here is territorialized, landscape and verbal texts are connected too, through written deeds of ownership. In *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, for example, one of the two shepherds who are fighting over the ownership of a field, declares:

> -Καὶ εἶναι καὶ μέσα στὸ μπολετὶ καθαρὰ γραμμένο, ἔλεγεν ὁ πρῶτος τῶν δύο·τὸ πῆγα στὸν παπα-Λευθέρη, ποὺ ξέρει νὰ διαβάζῃ τὰ παλαιὰ γράμματα, καὶ μοῦ τὸ διάβασε τόσες φορές (II.538.22-24).

A similar episode occurs in *Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασὰ*, where Yiannis Koutris has quarrelled with his neighbour over the ownership of land:

> Ἂς ἔβγαζε τὲς μπολέτες του νὰ τὲς διαβάσουν! Κ'οἱ δύο, τάχα, ἄς ποῦμε, γράμματα δὲν ἤξευραν, ἀλλ'ἦτον ὁ παπ ''Αγγελὴς ἐκεῖ, νὰ 'χουμε τὴν εὐχή του, ποὺ θὰ τὲς ἐδιάβ᾽ζε (II.355.21-23).

The correlation between landscape and literary text, however, is most fully explicit in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο*, where considerable attention is paid by the narrator both to geographical orientation and to landscape. The narrative itself focuses upon a winter expedition to the derelict

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26.Mackridge (1992: 167) refers in this context to Kolivas' apt characterization of *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* as τήν ξενάγηση στό χρόνο πού γίνεται μέσα ἀπό τήν ἀποκρυπτογράφηση τοῦ ἴχνους του πάνω στό χῶρο (1991: 22).

Kastro, initiated by the priest Papa Frangoulis. His aim is both to rescue two men who have been stranded there by the snow, and to celebrate the Christmas liturgy in the Church of the Nativity.

The importance of geography in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* is evident in the initial conversation which ensues among the gathering in Papa Frangoulis' house, before the group's departure. Here, the conversation is pervaded with allusions to toponyms, which the narrator glosses for the reader (II.276.16-17). In the narrator's account of the hazardous journey around the island to the Kastro, details of the island's landscape and its landmarks are also recorded. An allusion to the textual characteristics of the landscape, moreover, is made by the boat's stalwart captain, Stefanis, when he compares his own knowledge of the island's coastline to Papa Frangoulis' knowledge of scriptural texts. Here, the secondary reading of the landscape, as well as the interpretation of the biblical text within the story, parallel the reader's primary reading of the narrative (cf. Wike 1993: 456):

> Ὅπως ξέρ'ς ἡ ἁγιωσύνη σ'τὰ γράμματα τς ἐκκλησιᾶς ἀπ'ὄξου, παπά, ἔτσι κ'ἐγὼ τὰ ξέρω ἀπ'ὄξου, ὅλα τὰ λιμανάκια, τοὺς κάβους, κὶ τς ἀμμουδιές, ὅλες τὶς ξέρες κὶ τὰ γκρίφια κὶ τὰ θαλάμια (II.289.30-32).

Ironically, characterized as it is by elision, the language of the passage is not that of a literate protagonist, but conversely, suggests an unfamiliarity with verbal texts. The narrator thus explores the interaction of a mind which thinks in words (Father Frangoulis) with visual or ocular experience (cf. Bryson 1981: 5). The island's landscape is associated, not only with memory, but with epistemological concerns. Negotiating a landscape is analogous to the reading of a text and by implication landscape is open to the same kind of biblical exegesis. The effect of Captain

Stefanis' simile is to denaturalize a landscape which the reader has hitherto accepted as natural. Landscape, no less than scripture, is a text to be memorized, and it provides the rubrics within which the protagonists' actions are read.

In fact, geography in Papadiamantis is often associated with reading. Place-names are sometimes conceived as semantic entities in a book. In *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλού*, Yiannios puns on the irony of the name Philadelphia, where his brother has emigrated (II.157.1-3), while the narrator in *Ὁ Ἀειπλάνητος* advises Yiannis to consult ἕνα «Συνταγμάτιον» νὰ διαβάσῃς πόσα μοναστήρια εἶναι στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στὴν Τουρκία (III.578.9). In *Τὸ Γράμμα στὴν Ἀμερική* [1910], geography is associated, not only with literacy, but with libraries or ἀρχεῖα (IV. 359.22). Locations and frontiers are inscribed in a reference book.[27] Like the βιβλίον ἀνοικτόν of Yiannios' garden, geography has become a textual matter (II.155.14-15). As Merlier expressed it, Skiathos itself is "[un] livre merveilleux" (1965: 26).

Captain Stefanis' comparison between a sailor's knowledge of the coast and a priest's grasp of religious texts in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο*, is anticipated in the narrator's assertion that Papa Frangoulis was himself a sailor in his youth: Εἰς τὴν νεότητά του ὑπῆρξε ναυτικός (II.276.10). Stefanis' simile also follows a dramatic display of the priest's acquaintance with τὰ γράμματα τς ἐκκλησιᾶς, when Papa Frangoulis pokes fun at the chorister Alexandris for taking scriptural passages literally, while remaining oblivious of their metaphorical dimension (II.287.6-14). Alexandris' inability to read well is later emphasized in the church where κανὲν σχεδὸν κῶλον δὲν ἔλεγεν ὀρθῶς, οὔτε μουσικῶς οὔτε γραμματικῶς (II.295.18-19). Similarly, just as he cannot read scripture, Alexandris is ignorant of navigational matters. As the narrator remarks, he is *ἀτζαμὴς* περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ πράγματα (II.287.19-20). The

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27.As the narrator remarks in this text:...οὔτε παγκόσμια χάρτα εἶμαι (IV.359.17).

parallels drawn in the first half of *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* between the activities of a sailor and those of a priest, reflect more encompassing parallels between landscape and text, and between geography and scripture. Landscape is γραφικό in the radical etymological sense of that word and in Papadiamantis' short story *Ἡ Δασκαλομάννα* [1894], one of the school boys mistakes his geography book for his Ἁγία Γραφή (III.21.28).

The first half of *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* concentrates, therefore, on an account of Papa Frangoulis' perilous expedition around the island to the Kastro, intimating parallels between the activities of sailor and priest and between readings of the landscape and scripture. The second half of the narrative focuses on descriptions of the Kastro itself, the church of the Nativity (ναὸς τῆς Χριστοῦ Γεννήσεως), and of Captain Konstantis' storm-tossed boat which is rescued from near catastrophe. In this section the earlier analogues are extended. The church is conceived as a geographical landmark which adorns the landscape much in the same way as the icons adorn the interior of the church. The half-open architectural configuration of the church, as well as the ease with which the protagonists move in and out of the building, also suggest a continuity between geographical and theological space.[28]

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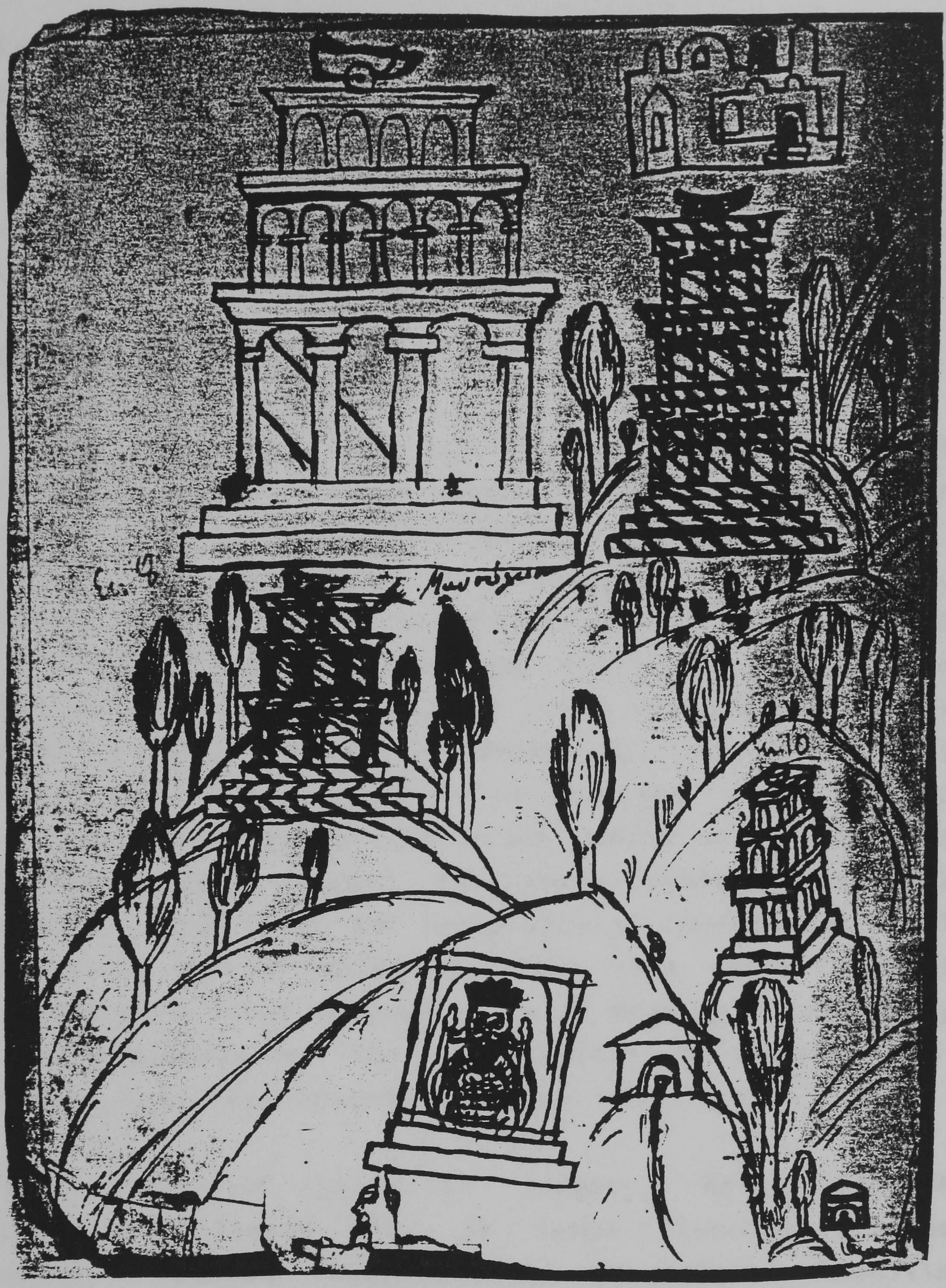
28. See, here, Kyriakidou-Nestoros who discusses the inextricable relationship between ecclesiastical architecture and landscape in rural Greece (n.d.: 26-27). The sketch by Papadiamantis overleaf aptly expresses the interactional relationship between landscape, architectural form and iconography which is explored in his fiction.



"The iconography of landscape":
sketch by Alexandros Papadiamantis.
Reproduced from *Τὸ λάβαρον: ανέκδοτες Παπαδιαμαντικές σελίδες από το Αρχεία Απόστολου Γ. Παπαδιαμάντη* (1989).
Edited with notes by Fotis Dimitrakopoulos.
Athens: Kastaniotis.

Special attention is paid by the narrator to the icons which adorn the church.[29] In effect, the narrator maps out the interior of the church in terms of the relative position of icons such as that of the Nativity, the Virgin and Child, the Apostles, the Prophets from the Old Testament and the Church Fathers (II.293-294). The space of the church, like a medieval *mappa mundi* or *imago mundi*, presents a cosmographical view of the world (cf. Gosman 1989: 370).

The icons, however, are not only placed within the architectural space of the church. As Farinou-Malamatari has observed, the description of the icons relies upon a vocabulary that draws from the liturgy, the New Testament, hymnology, and the synaxaria, or Saints' Lives (1987: 146-164). Like the island landscape which has earlier been likened to scriptural texts, the icons are also defined in relation to the γράμματα τς ἐκκλησιᾶς. While the vivid life-like quality of the icons is stressed, their artifice is also emphasized by the use of such words as γραφικὴν and ζωγραφιστοί which suggest the inextricable relationship between the Ἁγία Γραφή and the pictorial representation. If landscape is like a realist literary text which "conceals its status as a place of production of meaning", conversely, the icons accentuate "the articulation of meaning as a deliberate conscious process" (Bryson 1981: 9,18).

In his study of pictorial imagery, Erwin Panofsky distinguishes between what he terms "iconography" and "iconology": between recognition of conventional symbolism, and the elucidation of a work's "intrinsic meaning", that

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29. The characterization of Papadiamantis' fiction itself as a genre of literary iconography has been a recurrent analogy in critical responses to his work. As early as 1891, for example, Zervos described Papadiamantis as Ἕλλην εἰκονογράφος, while Gavriilidis termed Papadiamantis συγγραφεύς τῆς νεωτάτης ζωγραφικῆς σχολῆς and Palamas spoke of him as ὁ μεγάλος ζωγράφος τῶν ταπεινῶν (Katsimbalis 1991: 24,31,60). More recently, Papadiamantis' preoccupation with iconographic representation has been noted in some detail by Farinou-Malamatari (1987:147-149). On the relationship between ηθογραφία and ζωγραφική, see Mackridge (1993: 175).

is to say, the cultural principles which underpin a text (Panofsky 1970: 51-81). For Panofsky, these principles "were to be reconstructed by a kind of detective synthesis, searching out analogies between overtly disparate forms like poetry, philosophy, social institutions and political life" (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 2). Iconology was thus a form of "reading what we see" and its pertinence extended well beyond painting.[30]

Panofsky's insights serve as a useful point of departure from which to elucidate the analogies which are developed in Papadiamantis' text between the church, the icons and the surrounding landscape. In the first place church, icon and landscape are associated through the repeated efforts of the protagonists to "read what they see". In *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* there is a persistent attention to sight and visibility as the passengers on Stefanis' ship peer through the half-light and clouds to read the island's landmarks and ascertain their distance from the Kastro. Later Captain Konstantis' crew are saved when they catch sight of the light from the church.

The emphasis on sight is explicitly bound up with notions of geographical orientation. The church of the Nativity is situated within the geographical context of the abandoned Kastro and the surrounding environs. From the Kastro the view extends from the Thermaic Gulf, to Halkidiki and the mountains of Olympus and Pelion (II.292.20-21). The church itself acts as a landmark, thereby underlining Kyriakidou-Nestoros' observation that the churches are "the acknowledged reference points of the rural population, the language of the landscape that gives the latter its human meaning" (Ricks 1992: 173). In fact, the church acts as a lighthouse for Captain Konstantis' seaborne schooner:

30.The relationship of Panofsky's approach to Geertzian ethnology and the conceptualizing of culture as a text is examined briefly by Daniels and Cosgrove (1988: 4).

> Οἱ ἀγωνιῶντες ναυβάται εἶδον ἔξαφνα φῶς, ὡς φάρον ὁδηγοῦντα αὐτούς, τοὺς πυρσοὺς οὓς εἶχον ἀνάψει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναΐσκου τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ τραχεῖς αἰπόλοι (II.298.17-19).

The simile of the church resembling a φάρος recurs in Papadiamantis' fiction,[31] while in his article *Γλῶσσα καὶ κοινωνία*, Papadiamantis writes: ἡ γλῶσσα ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἔπρεπε [νὰ] βλέπῃ μακράν, ὡς φάρον παμφαῆ, τὴν λαμπρὰν αἴγλην τῆς ἀρχαίας, χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ τέρμα τὸν φάρον αὐτόν. Ὁ φάρος ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὸν λιμένα, δὲν εἶναι αὐτὸς λιμήν (V.296.22-25). To the sailors in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* the illuminated church appears as a θεῖον πράγματι θαῦμα (II.298.20) and the narrator likens the conflagration outside the church to the star that shone above Christ's manger (II.295-298). He repeats the phrase from St. Luke's description of the coming of Christ (Luke 2:14), Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις (II.298.21), which he has previously employed in the context of the church's icon of the Nativity (II.293.27-28). With the goat-herds and their flocks gathered round the building, and its guiding star, the church is implicitly likened to the biblical manger, thereby suggesting a literal re-enactment of the nativity. The church becomes an architectural reflection of the icon of the Nativity. It stands as a landmark in a cultural geography that requires to be read in the same way as the icons are read. Both the landscape and the icons are "encoded texts to be deciphered by those cognisant of the culture as a whole in which they were produced" (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 2). The sailors walk into the church: ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἀσπασθῶσι τὰς εἰκόνας (II.298.1-2).

Papa Frangoulis' journey to the Kastro is prompted partly by his desire to save the men snowbound in the Kastro and partly to fulfil the obligations of a vow. The idea of closure intimated in the first lines of the text (τοὺς ἔκλεισε τὸ χιόνι ἀπάν'στὸ Κάστρο II.275.1-25) and in the

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31.See for example the description of the church of Ayios Antonios in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* (III.457.25).

inaccessibility of the Kastro, however, is undermined throughout and especially in the description of the church of the Nativity. For in his description of the church the narrator emphasizes the architectural accessibility of the building. The characters are repeatedly crossing its thresholds, kindling fires both inside and outside its walls. The congregation, moreover, leave in the middle of the service, while shouts are heard from below the Kastro.

In short, the accessibility of the church building suggests that there is no clear dividing line between the church and its wider geographical setting. On the contrary, the abandoned church adjoins the other ruined buildings of the Kastro and merges into one uninterrupted landscape. Furthermore, the openness of the ecclesiastical building reflects a general narrative tendency to open up the figurative dimension of the Nativity to literalness, just as the priest's scriptural readings are punctuated by real cries for help from the outside. When Papa Frangoulis reaches the prothesis, he recites not only the names of his own dead or those of the other pilgrims, but also those of the entire parish, praying simultaneously for the sailors outside the church. The narrator adds that the priest knew not only the names ὅσα εἶχε γραπτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐκ μνήμης ἐγνώριζεν· ἐγνώριζε δ'ἐκ μνήμης ὅλα τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς πολίχνης, ἀποθαμένα καὶ ζωντανά (II.297.17-18). In this passage the parallel of the priest and sailor is alluded to once more. If Papa Frangoulis' expedition was prompted by a desire to open up the snowbound Kastro, this passage stands as the culminating image of openness and inclusion. Not only is the priest's service exposed to the sailors' real dangers, but the written and the memorized, the living and the dead - even Alexandris the imperfect reader - are envisaged as belonging to one "textual community". At the same time, the figurative language of religious texts finds its equivalence in the figuration of man's environment which is approached εικονογραφικά, as a cultural image or εικόνα (Themelis 1991: 30).[32] As the narrator remarks of the expansive

32. Significantly, in *Νεκρὸς ταξιδιώτης*, an icon of the

landscape in *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη*: Ὅλα αὐτὰ τὰ ἔβλεπες ἀντικρύ σου ὡς τελείαν εἰκόνα ἀριστοτέχνου ἀληθῶς (II.383.4-5).

The Depth of Landscape

A close reading of Papadiamantis' texts suggests, not only that landscape is inextricably bound up with notions of perception and discernment, but that it is semi-imagined and textualized by communities which invest it with meaning. In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, for example, the young orphan Kotsos escapes to the remotest regions of the countryside only to find that the landscape echoes back the moral condemnation of the community from which he flees (III.618.26-30). Similarly, the use of natural imagery to describe social relations points to a drive inherent in society to naturalize the reality it constructs and to transform a world produced by a specific socio-historical activity into a natural world (cf. Berger and Luckmann 1984). As Karen van Dyck has observed, Papadiamantis' texts "stress the social construction of the 'genuine' and the 'natural'", while the use of metaphor in the stories "suggests that nature, rather than being primary - my love is like a red, red rose - is secondary to, or at least on par with, culture...nature and culture are implicated in each other (1988: 388-389).

In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, Frangoyannou employs an extended trope which likens growing children to plants[33]:

Virgin is found in the branches of an ancient pine. For a discussion of Papadiamantis' sacred landscape, see Kolivas (1991: 45-78).

33. In *Ἡ Τελευταία βαπτιστικὴ* [1888], the narrator draws a similar analogy, when he likens Aunt Sofoula to a ἐπιμελῆ ἀνθοκόμον, ἥτις δὲν ἀρκεῖται νὰ φυτεύῃ μόνον τὰ ἄνθη της, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιθάλπει καὶ τὰ καταρδεύει (II.90.1-3). An implicit parallel is thus drawn between Sofoula's "cultivation" of her godchildren, and her husband's preoccupation with τὴν καλλιέργειαν τῶν κτημάτων του (II.90.13-14).

Πῶς μεγαλώνουν, Θεέ μου! ἐσκέπτετο ἡ Φραγκογιαννού. Ποῖος κῆπος, ποῖον λιβάδι, ποία ἄνοιξις παράγει αὐτὸ τὸ φυτόν! Καὶ πῶς βλαστάνει καὶ θάλλει καὶ φυλλομανεῖ καὶ φουντώνει! Καὶ ὅλοι αὐτοὶ οἱ βλαστοί, ὅλα τὰ νεόφυτα, θὰ γίνουν μίαν ἡμέραν πρασιαί, λόχμαι, κῆποι; (III.433.18-21).

Human and natural reproduction are conflated here, and linked to the socially produced space of the garden: a space to be mastered and domesticated. At the same time, the garden becomes a περίβολος τῶν νεκρῶν (III.446.10). Furthermore, the passage implicitly equates acts of murder with a gardener's pruning activities; an analogy which is developed in the course of the novella. In one of her dreams, for example, Frangoyannou's father offers her a gift of λάχανα which subsequently metamorphose into the decapitated heads of her victims (III.488.13-21). Earlier, the murderess has gone to visit Yiannis the gardener in the hope that he might give her some vegetables, but when she arrives she finds him working in his garden (III.460). Similarly, Father Joseph, the gardener at the Monastery of Evangelismos, tells Frangoyannou that he will give her some vegetables if she passes by the garden a little later: -Ἂν περάσῃς ἀπὸ τοὺς κήπους, γερόντισσα, φώναξέ με νὰ σὲ φιλέψω κανένα μαρούλι κι ὀλίγα κουκιά (III.504.20-21). Murder is therefore covered by a rhetoric of naturalness[34] and if Liringos mistakenly calls Frangoyannou Aunt Γαρουφαλιά (= carnation III.490.11), two of her intended victims are also named after plants Δαφνώ (δάφνη = laurel) and Ἀνθή (ἄνθος = flower III.505.23,25).

The passage quoted above thus draws attention to the deceptive manner in which history is "naturalized" as an innocent and unavoidable process. Similarly, the narrator underlines the gendering of nature by implicitly pitting

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34.An idea accentuated by the murderess' exclamation on waking from her nightmare: τῆς ἐφαίνεται τόσον *φυσικὸν* [my emphasis] τὸ πρᾶγμα! (III.495.10).

the concept of nature as a fecund virgin against the notion of nature as a libidinous land which has to be violently tamed.

The symbolic dimension of landscape is stressed in numerous texts. In *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλοὺ*, for example, or in Roman *Τ' Ἀγνάντεμα*, features of the island's rock formation are perceived animistically. Similarly, the giant oak tree in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν* is conceived symbolically. It is not only a spatial marker, but also an historical point of reference which underlines the embedded nature of social relations in a spatial and temporal network. Indeed, the branching oak becomes emblematic of the proliferating chronologies inscribed in the landscape: mythological, religious, historical and biographical (cf. Peckham In Press c).

Landscape, in these instances, is a textured repository of folk-tales and history. In fact, like the sea, landscape too is often evoked in terms of "depth" - a key word in *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλοὺ*. In the description of Yiannios' garden, for example, the narrator repeatedly stresses its depth. As Farinou-Malamatari has observed, the garden constitutes a texture of literary allusions, centring on a six-line Homeric simile which explicitly compares
the earth to the sea (1987: 108-110). Yet the narrator's persistent use of the word βάθος and its cognates, serves to connect the garden with the subsequent incident of a boy's near-drowning. Not only is the depth of the garden ruffled by the wind (II.154.17-20), but the allusion to the Pleiads who try to reach its bottom (II.155.1-3) anticipates the description of the Austrian ship which anchors in the bay to sound the sea's depth (II.160.34). Finally, when the young boy falls into the sea, Yiannios probes the depths with his boathook (γάντζον), just as he prods the sea floor to retrieve the hook when he drops it (II.164.1-2, 165.4-10). The narrator details the relative depth of the sea in relation to the respective protagonists and the increasing

depth as the boat drifts out to sea. In short, the land and sea are associated, not only through Yiannios' dual activities of gardening and fishing, but through the concept of depth.[35]

The landscape in Papadiamantis' fiction is densely textured; like the sea, it is evoked in terms of depth. Just as characters drown in the sea, so they may disappear under the crust of the landscape, like Barba Yiannios in *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια*, who is obliterated by a shroud of snow; or the white haired Hristina in *Χωρὶς στεφάνι* who fades into the walls of her whitewashed house. Significantly, *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* is prefaced with the description of a shepherd who uncovers the cultural repository of Plethon's buried cave of ancient treasures εἰς τὸ βάθος [ενός] κοιλώματος (I.347.12). In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, Delharo's successful negotiation of the landscape's "depths" presages Frangoyannou's final drowning in the sea (see Chapter 1).

In fact, Delharo's fusion with the physical environment recalls the anthropomorphic shapes that the local topography can often assume in Papadiamantis' texts, bearing witness to the drowning of protagonists in the landscape. The landscape is duplicitous and treacherous. If it seduces, it also conceals dangers:

> Κάτω ἐχαράττετο βαθὺ τὸ ποτάμιον, τ''Αχειλᾶ τὸ ρέμα, καὶ ὅλην τὴν βαθεῖαν κοιλάδα μετὰ ἠρέμου μορμυρισμοῦ διέτρεχε τὸ ρεῦμα, κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀκινητοῦν, λιμνάζον, ἀλλὰ πράγματι ἀενάως κινούμενον ὑπὸ τὰς μακρὰς βαθυκόμους πλατάνους· ἀνάμεσα εἰς βρύα καὶ θάμνους καὶ πτέριδας, ἐφλοίσβιζε μυστικά, ἐφίλει τοὺς κορμοὺς τῶν δένδρων, ἔρπον ὀφιοειδῶς κατὰ

35.The narrator develops the Homeric analogy between the sea and the land, when he refers to the "treasures" (θησαυροί) which the garden and the sea both yield to the dexterous Yiannios (II.155.12, 161.5). See also the narrator's remark: Ὁ Γιαννιὸς, φοβηθεὶς μὴ χάσῃ τὸν γάντζον του, ἄνευ τοῦ ὁποίου θὰ ἐπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν «χωρὶς σπανάκια καὶ λαχανίδες»... (II.164.24-25).

> μῆκος τῆς κοιλάδος, πρασινωπὸν ἀπὸ τὰς ἀνταυγείας τὰς χλοεράς, φιλοῦν καὶ ἅμα δάκνον τοὺς βράχους καὶ τὰς ρίζας, νᾶμα μορμύρον, ἀθόλωτον, βρῖθον ἀπὸ μικρὰ καβουράκια, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔτρεχον νὰ κρυβῶσιν εἰς τὸ θόλωμα τῆς ἄμμου (III.458.22-33).

In the depth of the valley the stream appears motionless and lakelike, whereas in reality it is in perpetual movement. The dense foliage hides the stream as it flows past secretly (μυστικά). It is at once amorous and aggressive, simultaneously kissing and biting the roots and rocks which it passes. Finally, the crabs run and hide under the sand. In short, the passage underlines the deceptive nature of the landscape, playing off reality against appearance, passivity against violence, stability against instability. The allusion to the serpentine stream (ἕρπον ὀφιοειδῶς) and the insistence on concealment carry connotations of a postlapsarian world, while the sexual undertones implied by both the snake and the action of kissing and biting, encapsulate the novella's larger thematics of reproduction and death. The effect of the passage is to destabilize the landscape; rather than being a fixed backcloth, the narrator intimates that it is a dynamic construct as treacherous as the murderess herself who is an initiate of its secrets. The unevenness of the landscape not only points to the overlap of metaphorical and material space, but intimates the presence of a "deep space"; a space in which physical extent is infused with social intent (cf. Smith 1990). The invisible seams stitching the natural and cultural environment come apart, uncovering what Raymond Williams calls the "enamelled" layers of the pastoral world (1985: 18).[36]

36.For a further discussion of this passage from *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, see Saunders, who comments that "the landscape (and its legends) signal the infidelities of that seductive relationship between signifying containers and their contents" (1992: 61-62).

Papadiamantis' protagonists are thus situated in a landscape which is constituted of "a sedimented layering of readings" (LaCapra 1983: 45) and the word "depth" acquires an added pertinence in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, as Frangoyannou - like Kotsos in *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* - strives to bury herself in the recesses of the landscape, in caves and in secluded valleys. Κάπου θὰ κρυφτῶ, σὲ καμμιὰ τρύπα, she declares (III.475.7). The word βάθος and its cognates are used to describe the wells in which the children drown (ἡ στέρνα, χαμηλή, βαθεῖα, III.462.10-11; τὸ δὲ βάθος τοῦ νεροῦ, III.471.7; νὰ ἰδῇ εἰς τὸ βάθος, III.471.15). Finally, Frangoyannou frequently hears voices κάτω εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς ψυχῆς της (III.484.8). Indeed, a parallel is drawn between the protagonist's internal state and the configurations of the surrounding land. Thus, on her way to the chapel of St. John - appropriately named ὁ Κρυφός since it is buried away in the depths of a valley and sinners go their to confess their secrets - she passes ἐντὸς τοῦ ρεύματος βαθεῖα (III.458.20), while the shadows and rustle of the dense forest ἀντήχει ὡς δοῦπος σκληρὸς εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς ψυχῆς της (III.458.20-21). A similar correlation between landscape and protagonist is suggested in *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια*, where the church is situated εἰς τὸ βάθος δρυμῶνος (III.305.8) and the narrator looks down from a height μέσα εἰς τὸ ρέμα, βαθιὰ κάτω. Later, inside the church, he hears a voice in the depths (τὸ βάθος) of his consciousness (III.314.1).

Conclusion

The present chapter has concentrated on sight and landscape in Papadiamantis' stories. It has sought to demonstrate neither how Papadiamantis organizes his narratives around a physical model of perception, nor the manner in which, mediated by perception, landscape is portrayed psychologically. On the contrary, the purpose of the preceding discussions has been to show how Papadiamantis textualizes a physical environment and in the process

explores the manner in which meanings are invested in a landscape by the community which inhabits it. At the same time, numerous texts such as *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* or *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα* focus on a sense of mystery which characterizes the narrator's engagement with the landscape. In *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* emphasis is placed on the narrator's vision as he journeys to an outlying chapel. Half-awake, he is drawn out of the building and imagines that he sees a strange shape (πρᾶγμά τι III.313.26) which issues forth and then disappears, as if by magic, back into the landscape. Here, the narrator's unsuccessful attempt to describe the apparition intimates the inadequacy of conventional language in evoking an intense optical experience (cf. Crary 1990: 143).

Moreover, in *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια*, space expands and contracts, pointing to the many-faceted nature of space, which ranges from the space of direct experience, to perceptual space, sacred and profane spaces. In fact, throughout the text the landscape is portrayed as an extended *trompe-l'oeil*, as enigmatic as the remains of an ancient temple which are compared to the Sphinx's inscrutable face (ὡς πρόσωπον Σφιγγὸς τὴν πρόσοψίν του τὴν γριφώδη III.305.11). Landscape here is a domain where intelligible meanings have disappeared and the narrator attempts to recover what might be called "the hidden dimension" of landscape. At the same time the analogy of the ruined "temple" with the Sphinx is poignant, since the Sphinx was the monster whose riddle Oedipus answered, thereby linking the narrator to the wandering Oedipus.[37] Here, the the secrecy of the landscape corresponds to the protagonist's hidden passion, while the aura of secrecy contributes to the intensity of the revelation.

By way of a conclusion to the present chapter it should be noted that Papadiamantis' narratives often centre on the passage or intrusion of a stranger into the community; it

37. See, in this context, Saunier's emphasis on Mahoula as a symbol of motherhood (1989/90: 146-152).

may be a town-dweller who is lost on the mountainside, a mountain-dweller who descends into the cultivated land, a foreigner who disembarks on the island, or even the state bureaucracy which imposes itself on the locality. These intrusions serve to highlight the significance of landscape, since the strangers are often ill-equipped to read their surroundings. This gives rise to what Krasner has called a perceptual entanglement (1992), an aspect of Papadiamantis' fiction which is explored more fully in the following chapters.

4

LOCALES AND ZONES

Papadiamantis' texts dramatize a series of expanding and contracting regions which can be represented visually as a map. They delineate a series of radiating circumferences extending from the home to the yard and immediate neighbourhood, to the village vicinity, the outlying countryside with its agricultural land and chapels, the wilderness of the mountains and the sea. Beyond this immanent topography lie the adjacent islands and mainland, beyond that the formal frontier of the Greek kingdom and further still foreign states - particularly the United States - to which Papadiamantis' texts often allude.[1]

The prominence given to descriptions of panoramas and vistas in the texts accentuates the importance of successive zonal relationships, as do the texts' peripatetic narratives. From the island's vantage points, like the Kastro, the narrator and protagonists frequently survey the surrounding countryside. Many of the narratives chart what Arnold Van Gennep calls "territorial passages" from one zone to another [1908] (1960: 15-25); often a movement from town to mountain, from town to sea, or a progress within the town itself from the lower to the upper parish. In her flight from the law in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, for example, Frangoyannou crosses the island's cultivated land, to the inhospitable highland terrain and then descends to the sea. The narrator details the distinct territorial tracts through which she proceeds:

> Εἶχε τελειώσει ἡ μακρὰ σειρὰ τῶν κήπων καὶ τῶν περιβολίων πρὸς τὰ δεξιά της, ἐνῷ

1.As Moschonas notes, the motif of emigration recurs in some 32 short stories, beginning with *Ἡ Σταχομαζώχτρα* in 1889 (1981: θ'- ι'). See also Halvatzakis (1960: 137, 156).

ἀριστερά της παρετείνετο ἀκόμη ὁ μικρὸς βραχώδης λόφος, τὰ Κοτρώνια, μὲ τὰς τρεῖς γραφικὰς κορυφάς των τὴν μίαν κατόπιν τῆς ἄλλης, τὰς ἐπιστεφομένας ἀπὸ ἀνεμομύλους καὶ μικρὰ λευκὰ καλύβια καὶ σπιτάκια, ἔρποντα γύρω των. Τώρα πλέον ἔφθασεν εἰς μέρος ὅπου ἄρχιζαν ἀμπέλια, ἀγροὶ μὲ ὀπωροφόρα δένδρα (III.484.29-34).

The narrator notes Frangoyannou's route through the more populous urban vicinity to the surrounding belt of agricultural land given over to plots, orchards and enclosures. In her evasion, the murderess inscribes a zonal map of the island, shifting from Marousa's basement to the unfarmed and exposed mountain expanses where she seeks refuge in shepherd huts and in a cave. Furthermore, the attention to regional peripheries is evident in most of Papadiamantis' fiction, whether in the early novels which move between national territories (Marseilles, Smyrna, Venice, Naxos, Rhodes and the Peloponnese), in the Athenian stories which concentrate primarily on architectural boundaries, or in the short stories where the island topography is inscribed with localized frontiers.

Previous chapters have dealt with the textualization of national, state and religious contours in Papadiamantis' fiction, while Chapter 3 investigated the interpretive characteristics of Papadiamantis' landscape. In the present chapter attention focuses primarily on the role of local boundaries, for "like national identity, local or community identity is created and negotiated across and at boundaries" (Zinovieff 1989: 41). Throughout Papadiamantis' texts there is a conspicuous concern for land enclosure and property ownership. This is evinced through apparently incidental details such as the mention of a walled lemon grove (ἑνὸς λεμονεῶνος τοιχογυρισμένου III.228.23) along the shady footpath which leads the protagonist to the spring in *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα*.[2] At the same time, in texts such as *Τὰ*

2.There is a contrast throughout this text between notions

Φραγκλέικα [1912], questions of property ownership and land divisions are principal themes. Often the confines of the parochial community mirror the bounds of a larger national territory. Thus, in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* a parallel is intimated between Kir Moschos' enclosed land which is described as a βασίλειον (III.263.34) with its own σύνορα (III.26.35) and the frontiers of the κράτος on the mainland opposite (III.262.18). Individuals raise boundaries to sustain their identities, just as nations establish frontiers to consolidate corporate identities. A link is implied, here, between the rigorous delimitation of property rights that accompanied the emergence of the territorial state, and the modern "self", investing in its sovereign territory (cf. Wikse 1977). Similarly, in the novella *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*, the island of Tsoungria where the cholera victims are quarantined by the state is described as the monk Nikodimos' βασίλειον (II.603.9). In this text ideas of internment and enclosure extend from details of a domestic architecture, to the restrictive bounds of the quarantine, monastic confinement and the nation-state's frontiers.

The present chapter therefore focuses on the different boundaries which delineate the landscape into contending zones, demonstrating the manner in which such spatial configurations relate to the construction of social identity. The first section examines the broad movement of Papadiamantis' characters between regions, concentrating on the encounters which take place on the threshold, or fringes, of zones. Frequently characters trespass onto neighbouring land, or are themselves victims of incursions by outsiders into their own territory. Similarly, territorial marker such as walls, fencing, partitions and bounded spaces recur throughout Papadiamantis' fiction, culminating in the image of the closed house. Section two analyses the recurring attention paid to footpaths and roads in Papadiamantis' texts. If these paths connect different locales within the landscape, often they are overgrown,

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of enclosure (III.227.5-10) and of disclosure, which culminates in the protagonist's vision at the spring.

petering out and leading the walker astray. The third section deals with the function of boundaries in a domestic context. It examines the house as a recurring locale in Papadiamantis' texts; one which is associated with the ambiguous space of entrances, porches and windows. The term locale can be defined briefly as "a physical region involved as part of the setting of interaction, having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or the other" (Giddens 1989: 375). Often these are "charged monumental spots at which modern events take place before a backdrop layered by ancient events" (Wike 1993: 466). Particular attention is paid to pervasive fenestral motifs and to the importance of the home which is conceived both as a place of refuge and as a prison, thereby expressing an ambiguous claustrophobic structure at once repressive and protective.[3] If the inhabitants hide from external threats within buildings, people are also incarcerated within them and are consequently deprived of the possibility of communicating with the outside. The concept of the siege recurs in numerous texts such as *Φτωχὸς Ἄγιος*, *Ἡ Τελευταία βαπτιστικὴ* and *Ἡ Φόνισσα*.

Finally, section four explores the shifting image of the ruin in Papadiamantis' landscape. Traditionally, the representation of the ruin in literature is inextricably bound up with a theory of the picturesque in which "the ruin provides an historical provenance for the conception of the nation as immemorially ancient". On the other hand, "the ruin represents visible evidence of historical impermanence"; of human and cultural transience (Janowitz 1990: 4). As it is textualized in Papadiamantis' fiction, however, the ruin intimates the historical volatility and impermanence of social and communal boundaries. Collapsed walls and buildings in disrepair indicate the

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3. The home is a conspicuous motif in modern Greek folk poetry, where it is depicted both as a protective haven, and as a locus of crime and abuse. Images of the ruined, ghostly, house also recur (cf. Alexiou 1983: 77). For the association of the family house with the family tomb, see Stewart (1991: 52-53).

interrelatedness and correspondence between nature and culture. In short, therefore, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how geographical boundaries become a physical manifestation of the perimeters of social identity which are both safeguarded and overstepped, and to show how the community invests these mutable borders with significance.

Boundaries and Social Perimeters

The protagonists of Papadiamantis' texts are acutely aware of the borders and boundaries which surround them, defining and dividing the landscape they inhabit. In *Οἱ Καντηλανῖοι* [1912], for example, the God-fearing goat-herd Alexis Barekos is so sensitive to territorial boundaries that when any of his goats stray into neighbouring pasture-lands he voluntarily gives himself up to the municipal authorities (IV.405-406).[4]

Plots of land are screened off and protected against intruders. Frangoyannou, for example, is frightened off from a partially walled and hedged cherry orchard outside the town (ἕνα περιβόλι, φραγμένον μὲ πυκνοὺς βάτους καὶ θάμνους ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ἐν μέρει μὲ τοιχογύρισμα), by the mayor's watchman and his dog (III.485.31-32). Similarly, in *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* Loukas guards the periphery of the lake with his gun against intruders, and in *Τὸ Πνίξιμο τοῦ παιδιοῦ*, the narrator details the activities of the field warden Konstantis Tsitsoukas whose job it is to keep pilferers from climbing over fences and picking the fruit of neighbouring vineyards (III.275-279). In the second half of this story an implicit parallel is drawn between the poachers who trespass into bordering allotments, and the transgression of social regulations. When Tsitsoukas is employed by the municipality as a school supervisor he is harshly rebuked by a father of one of the boys whom he has

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4. There are numerous examples of goat-herds overstepping the boundaries of their pasture-land. See, for example, the story *Τ' Ἀγγέλιασμα* (IV.396.3-5).

beaten for swimming at a forbidden time (III.278.24-32). Consequently, when the child is in real danger, Tsitsoukas is not there to save him. The upholding and preservation of the community's codes and boundaries, here, is implicitly compared to the supervision of a physical territory.

If boundaries are watched over and patrolled, they are also infringed, or undermined. In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, the narrator describes how Kir Moschos acquired plots of land which he walled into a private estate. In an ironic aside, the narrator remarks that the price of raising the walls may, in fact, have exceeded the value of the land enclosed: Ὁ περίβολος διὰ νὰ κτισθῇ ἐστοίχισε πολλά, ἴσως περισσότερα ἢ ὅσα ἄξιζε τὸ κτῆμα (III.263.32-33).

On one level, as Farinou-Malamatari remarks, *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* can be read as an account of the protagonist's alienation from the paradisal existence of his childhood (1987: 265-274). In the words of the narrator in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*, παλιὰς ἀναμνήσεις are pitted against an impoverished σύγχρονον πραγματικότητα (II.565.9-10). The shepherd's freedom to roam the mountains is juxtaposed against his subsequent incarceration in a lawyer and politician's office and indeed, he twice likens himself to a shackled dog (III.262.9-14; 273.20-21). From this perspective, the narrator's emotional response to the landscape contrasts to Moschos' act of enclosure. Yet the narrative consistently undermines such binary oppositions. Firstly, the narrator's ironic comment on Moschos' walled domain is qualified by his own repeated claims to ownership of the land, which he regards as his own fiefdom. His narrative is punctuated with possessive pronouns (ἦτον ἰδικόν μου...ἡ πετρώδης, ἀπότομος ἀκτή μου...ὅλα ἐκεῖνα ἦσαν ἰδικά μου...ἦτον κτῆμα ἰδικόν μου...τὸ κυρίως κατάμερόν μου, etc).

In relating his youthful biography, the narrator demonstrates an acute awareness of the territorial

boundaries which defined his patch. Thus, he comes into conflict with the guards employed by the municipality to watch over τὰ περιβόλια τοῦ κόσμου (III.263.10). A little later the narrator adds: Τὸ κυρίως κατάμερόν μου ἦτον ὑψηλότερα, ἔξω τῆς ἀκτῖνος τῶν ἐλαιώνων καὶ ἀμπέλων, ἐγὼ ὅμως συχνὰ ἐπατοῦσα τὰ σύνορα (III.263.13-14). Throughout the story, the narrator is preoccupied with topographical details, such as his proximity to Moschos' walled domain. Δὲν θὰ ἐρριψοκινδύνευα νὰ ἔλθω τόσον σιμὰ εἰς τὰ σύνορά της...νὰ λουσθῶ, the narrator remarks, ἐὰν ἤξευρα ὅτι ἐσυνήθιζε νὰ λούεται καὶ τὴν νύκτα μὲ τὸ φῶς τῆς σελήνης (III.267.34-36). Moreover, in his description of Moschoula, he remarks that she resembled the bride of the Song of Songs τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς μητρός της εἶχαν βάλει νὰ φυλάῃ τ'ἀμπέλια (III.264.16-17). The allusion in this passage to the guarded vineyards recalls the narrator's earlier admission that as a shepherd he stepped over the boundaries of olive groves and vineyards and came into conflict with the guards. In short, the unrestrained freedom of the narrator's adolescence is repeatedly set against his attention to geographical borders, boundaries and land ownership.

Like Kir Moschos, the narrator dreams of possessing a χωριστὸν βασίλειον for himself (III.263.34). Although the constricting space of the lawyer's Athenian office is juxtaposed, on one level, to the freedom of the open mountainside, on another it merely reflects a different kind of enclosure, echoing the perimeters of the monastic space. In his youth the narrator laid claim to his own territory, as an adult he finds himself constrained behind the walls of his employer's space:

> Καὶ εἶμαι περιωρισμένος καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειος, οὐδὲ δύναμαι νὰ ὠφεληθῶ ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν τὴν ὁποίαν κατέχω πλησίον τοῦ δικηγόρου μου, θέσιν οἱονεὶ αὐλικοῦ (III.262.6-8).

The narrator has, in fact, become a paid employee, like the municipal guards whom he so detested as a child (III.263.8-11).

Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα cannot thus be reduced to a nostalgic tale of disillusioned adulthood.[5] Instead, through the narrator's attempts to define and enclose his own, ostensibly paradisal memories of childhood, the text explores the wider social significance of perimeters around which the narrator patterns his perceptions. More than physical landmarks, boundaries act as regulatory social and moral frontiers in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*. For if, as Farinou-Malamatari observes, the narrative focuses on the essence of temptation and its consequences (1987: 273), the narrator repeatedly offers the image of Sisois' walled monastery as a symbol of salvation. In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, the notion of the boundary is extended and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the meaning of concepts.[6] At the same time, the restricted space of the monastery echoes Moschos' circumscribed estate and the oppressive office (the narrator's employer is also a statesman III.262.5). The merchant's enclosure and the lawyer's work-place are both related, since they represent the intertwining interests of business and state. As Campbell has observed, the status of the lawyer in rural Greece developed both as a result of his function as an intermediary between the peasant and the state, and as a consequence of an expanding monetary economy (1964: 242-256).

5.For a discussion and critique of the numerous interpretations which this text has elicited, see Tziovas (1993).

6.It is significant in this respect that the narrator's momentary union with Moschoula takes place at sea, beyond the scope of territorial and social boundaries. As Constantinides remarks, the sea in Papadiamantis is associated with freedom and unrestrained eroticism. See, particularly, her analysis of *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* (1988: 100-101). See also Beaton's general discussion of the metaphorical dimension of sea in Papadiamantis' fiction (1989: 257-259).

Perhaps the most complex exploration of social boundaries, however, occurs in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*. Set against the backdrop of the 1865 cholera epidemic, the narrative hinges on the exploits of the female protagonist Skevo who illegally enters the quarantine, disguised as a man, in order to rescue her cholera-stricken son. In this text, the image of the quarantine is central. On the one hand, it represents the state's practical initiative to contain the plague. As the narrator remarks:

> Ἐπειδὴ ἡ χολὲρα ἐθέριζε κόσμον εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τουρκιᾶς, ἡ ἑλληνικὴ Κυβέρνησις εἶχε διατάξει νὰ γίνεται αὐστηροτάτη ἡ καραντίνα. Ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος λαζαρέτου εἰς τὴν νῆσον, διετάχθη νὰ γίνῃ προσωρινὸν ἔκτακτον λαζαρέτον ἡ ἐρημόνησος Τσουγκριᾶς (II.562-563).

The confines of the quarantine mirror the rigid contours of the state with its national frontiers. On the other hand, the quarantine represents a cruel prison-like isolation for those afflicted, who are locked away and deprived of sufficient food. The narrator puns in this context on the literal and figurative connotations of the noun στενοχωρία (II.567.1, 567.27-28).[7] Indeed, so miserable are conditions within the quarantine that the cholera victims break out and attempt a forced landing on Skiathos (II.628-632). This act of transgression is one of many in a novella which is characterized by the repeated subversion of both physical and social boundaries.

In the first place Skevo leaves her house and illicitly embarks for Tsoungria as a guard, thereby subverting the codes which regulate admission to the quarantine. Moreover, on the island, the monk Nikodimos gives up his hermitage to

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7. For discussions of the literal and figurative connotations of the noun στενοχωρία, see Hirschon who links it to the negative associations of closure in Greek culture which convey notions of limitations, restrictions and death (1989: 235-236). See also Danforth (1989: 78).

Skevo and her son, while he retires onto the mountain. The motif of the key recurs in this context, for before his departure Nikodimos, in a symbolic gesture, presents Skevo with the key to the storeroom: Νά, πάρε τὸ κλειδὶ τῆς ἀποθήκης (II.611.10). Earlier, the narrator observes that before leaving her house Skevo is careful to bolt the door (II.549.19). On her return from the town, Skevo is devasted by the news that her son is suffering from cholera and the narrator inquires: Πῶς ἠμπόρεσε νὰ γυρίση τὸ κλειδὶ εἰς τὴν κλειδότρυπαν; (II.576.16).[8] Contending images of closure and accessibility are opposed throughout the text, just as exile on Tsoungria is compared to the dilapidated former lazar-house which has become redundant and exposed to the elements. *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* is therefore structured around a series of evasions as Skevo breaks out of her female role as guardian of the house to dress as a man and become a guard in the quarantine. Similarly, the cholera victims escape from their quarantine, and Nikodimos withdraws from his hermitage.

The polysemous significance of boundaries is intimated by the narrator when he compares the East figuratively to a vineyard across which the epidemic is dispersed:

> Τέλος, ἦλθε τὸ 1865, καὶ ἡ χολέρα ἐκομίσθη τὸ θέρος εἰς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν Εὐρώπην, πιθανῶς, ὅπως πάντοτε, διὰ τῶν μουσουλμάνων

8.Details of keys recur in Papadiamantis' fiction. They are important symbols for the control of boundaries and if they stress the sanctity of the threshold, they also imply the possibility of violation from the outside. In *Τὸ Χριστόψωμο* Dialehti is asked for the house key, since her husband has unexpectedly returned (II.79.26-28). In *Τὸ 'Ενιαύσιον θῦμα* [1899] Papos is locked out of his house after his father has gone to sea and taken the key with him (III.218.24-25). Kira Stavroula, the narrator asserts in *'Ο Γείτονας μὲ τὸ λαγοῦτο* [1900], never goes out χωρὶς νὰ κλειδώση καλὰ τὴν θύραν, καὶ νὰ βάλῃ τὸ κλειδὶ εἰς τὴν τσέπην της (III.301.8-9). Finally, in *'Η Φόνισσα*, Marousa gives Frangoyannou the key to her basement, which the murderess slips into her pocket (III.483.27-30) and in *Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου* [1906], Frangoulis keeps the key to the church (IV.88.10). See, here, Van Gennep's discussion of the sacredness of portals as a liminal space (1960: 20-25).

προσκυνητῶν τῆς Μέκκας...Ἡ ταλαίπωρος Ἀνατολὴ ὑπῆρξε καὶ τότε, ὡς τώρα καὶ πάντοτε, ὑπό τε γεωγραφικὴν καὶ κοινωνικήν, ὑπὸ πολιτικὴν καὶ θρησκευτικὴν ἔποψιν, ἄφρακτος ἀμπελών. Ἀλλ'ὁ Χριστὸς ὁμιλεῖ περί τινος μελλούσης ἡμέρας ὅτε θὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος (II.569.16-26).

Here, the colloquial expression, "translated" into katharevousa (ξέφραγο ἀμπέλι), ἄφρακτος ἀμπελῶν, is employed as a metaphor for the vulnerability of the East which lacks any political, geographical, or religious coherence but is susceptible to whatever wind may be blowing at the time. In the final line of the passage the narrator further extends the trope by alluding to Christ's parable of the vineyard from Mark (12:1) and Luke (20:10) in which "a man planted a vineyard and put a wall round it, hewed out a winepress, and built a watch-tower". Moreover, the parable prepares the way for a further metaphor when the paradise of Tsoungria is transformed into a living hell (II.571.23-27). The narrator here seizes upon the symbolic dimension of boundaries which he explores in a political and theologic context, just as in the short story *Ἡ Στοιχειωμένη καμάρα*, the notion of borders is employed in a figurative sense for a protagonist who is struggling on the threshold of life and death:

> κ'ἐβασανίζετο φρικτὰ εἰς τὴν ἐσχατιὰν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ ἄλλου (III.633.6-7).

If *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* registers a series of transgressions across physical and social boundaries, there are frequent episodes in Papadiamantis' fiction when protagonists encroach into foreign territory. In *Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασὰ*, for example, when Yiannis Koutris arrives with his following at the church of Panayia Doman he finds that his rival Yioryis tou Panayioti has forestalled him. Although he is

enraged by the presence of his adversary, he is unable to retaliate, since, as the narrator observes: Δὲν εὑρίσκετο εἰς τὸ κατάμερόν του! Τοὐναντίον, εἶχε πατήσει τὰ σύνορα, εἶχε μεταβῆ εἰς ξένον κατάμερον (II.355.29-30). The potential conflict which might have resulted from Koutris' intrusion into a foreign enclave is thwarted by Yiannis' recognition of his own infringement. Furthermore, following their reconciliation, Yioryis tou Panayioti relates tales of his adventures with the heroes of Greek independence Nikotsaras and Stathas (II.359-361), thereby subsuming local boundaries within the more expansive scope of the Greek state (see Chapter 2).

A more dramatic episode of transgression occurs in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* where a young girl, Mati, is brutally set upon by a mountain-dweller who invades her parents' enclosure. Like numerous Papadiamantis texts, the narrative is organized around the twin poles of the country (εξοχή) and the town (πόλη). While Aunt Fotini feels at home in the country (II.183.8-10), Mati's mother dislikes the countryside (δὲν ἀγαπῶσι τὴν ἐξοχήν II.188.11). Both Mati and her suitor Kostis are town-dwellers who make excursions out into the rural areas because it is May Day. Although the country and town are juxtaposed, they are nevertheless adjacent, the countryside beginning χίλια βήματα ἔξω τῆς πολίχνης (II.185.4). At the same time, the countryside evoked in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* is a cultivated environs of fenced properties (II.185.6-10) which contrasts to the untamed mountain terrain which the shepherd inhabits.

The image of the enclave stands at the centre of *Θέρος-Ἔρος*. It is walled - a detail that is repeated - and locked (the key motif recurs II.188.30-31), with a hut inside: Ἦτο τοιχογυρισμένον ὅλον, εἶχε καὶ *καλύβι*, οἰκίσκον ἐξοχικόν, καλῶς διατηρούμενον [Papadiamantis' emphasis] (II.188.4-5). The garden is depicted as a bucolic, paradisal milieu associated with festivity, youth, and abundance. Nearby, however, there is a watchman who patrols

the plots, warding off potential intruders (II.187.29-32). The presence of the guard and of the garden's protective walls intimates the possibility of external threats. Similarly, notions of restraint and cultivation are consistently contrasted to ideas of wildness and excess. As she walks out into the country, Mati sheds her modesty with her town clothes:

> Μόλις ἐξῆλθον τῆς πολίχνης, καὶ ἡ κόρη ἔβγαλε τὴν πόλκαν της, εἰποῦσα ὅτι αἰσθάνεται ζέστην, κ'ἔμεινεν μόνον μὲ τὸ μεσοφούστανον, μὲ τὸ ὁλοβρόχινον ὑποκάμισον καὶ μὲ τὴν λευκὴν βαμβακερὴν φανέλαν (II.184.26-28).

The pungent smells of the country induce drunkenness (II.185.5) and the children are compared to gambolling wild beasts (II.185.11, 188.1-2). If the boundary fences dividing the land are obscured by the abundant growth of wild vines, honeysuckle and prickly bushes (II.187.3-4), the children invade the surrounding vineyards, cutting off shoots and searching for pigeons' nests in trees that overhang the boundaries (II.185.8-10). In short, the narrator underlines both the childish acts of trespass and the wilderness which encroaches upon the cultivated land. These details anticipate the incident of the wild goat-herd's foray into the walled plot.

The invasion of the mountain-dweller into the enclosure contrasts with Kostis' entrance at the end to save Mati. Both invade the sacred space of the cultivated plot. If Kostis has been seen circling Mati's family house, Fotini has seen him lurking in the undergrowth around the garden and Mati herself momentarily mistakes the shepherd for Kostis. Finally, the young lover's stylized poetic composition is juxtaposed to the wild shepherd's inarticulate and bestial grunts (see Chapter 1).

The presence of the mountain-dweller justifies the existence of the encircling walls and stands for an aggressive sexual appetite which ignores all social codes. The walled territory might be compared here to Kir Moschos' estate, which, as Dimitris Tziovas has argued, symbolizes "the forbidden, the unseen, the untouched, the impregnable which metaphorically can be seen to represent the female body" (1993: 152). The equation of bodily orifices with doors or windows construes violations as rape or breaking and entering (cf. Porteous 1973: 69-85). In *Θέρος-Ἔρος* the wild mountain-dweller's invasion is twofold, as he jumps over the wall and then launches himself through the window of the hut.[9] His coarse infringement parodies Kostis' own sexual appetite and deflates notions of a bucolic ideal.[10]

The φτωχὸς ἄνθρωπος who infringes upon the sanctity of the garden in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* differs from the protagonist of Papadiamantis' story *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος*, a text which was published immediately after *Θέρος-Ἔρος*. Yet both stories are similarly concerned with ideas of siege and of violent incursions. In *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* the narrator's recollections centre on expeditions out into the outlying countryside from the new town. In an expanding radius that moves from urban setting (τὸ χωρίον μας II.211.1) to a pastoral milieu of olive groves and excursions to neighbourhood chapels, the Kastro marks the extreme point of an extending circle:

> Ἡ ἐξοχωτέρα τῶν ἐκδρομῶν τούτων ἦτο εἰς τὸ *Κάστρο*, τὴν παλαιὰν πόλιν τῆς νήσου (II.211.15-16).

In a story which focuses on the spatial antithesis of inside and outside - where the goat-herd helps secure the fortress

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9.Although the goat-herd is associated with the penetration of enclosures, he nevertheless pleads with Mati to follow him to his own καλύβι (II.200.21, 201.7,14). At the same time, his crude embracing action parodies the plot's engirdling walls (II.201.33-3).
10.For analyses of arcadianism and Papadiamantis' engagement with pastoral, see Farinou-Malamatari (1992) and Kolivas (1992)

from invaders while himself being martyred outside - this emphasis on the exteriority of the castle is significant. Moreover, the expeditions out of the new town are prompted, as so often in Papadiamantis' fiction, by the exigencies of the Orthodox calendar (II.211.8-14).

Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος is characterized by a series of inversions and parallels. In the first place, the fortress has ceased to be a location in which people take refuge (ἄσυλον). On the contrary, it is an outlying place which villagers journey out to. The castle no longer represents safety, but conversely, signifies danger and threat. If the present town is depicted in favourable terms - *fear* as the narrator conjectures - inspired the island's inhabitants to build the Kastro: ὁ φόβος τῶν 'Αλγερίνων, τῶν Βενετῶν καὶ τῶν Τούρκων τοὺς συνεπίεζε καὶ τοὺς ἐστοίβαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς φύσει ἀπορθήτου ἐκείνης κόγχης (II.212.15-17). Thus, the fortress suggests a series of binary oppositions between land and sea, height and depth, between the inhospitable and the hospitable, the old and the new. Paradoxically, the fortress evokes those dangers and threats which it was designed to keep out and subjugate. At the same time, this fear contrasts to the children's frivolous activities and amusements - and the boredom which instigates expeditions into the countryside and to the castle (...μὴ ἔχοντες τί νὰ κάμωμεν, διότι τὸ χωρίον μας δὲν εἶχεν ἄφθονα τὰ μέσα τῆς ψυχαγωγίας... II.211.1-7).

At the end of the text's first section the narrator informs the reader that he heard the story in 1872 when he travelled to Macedonia (II.214.2021). The topography of the island is thus situated within a wider geographical perspective, while the allusion to exile recalls the women at the beginning of the narrative who visit the outlying chapels - and indeed the Kastro - in order to offer up prayers to their estranged or exiled husbands (II.211.4-9). Geographical expositions pervade the text, and particularly the section which focuses on the pirate ships. Details of directions, of longitudes

and latitudes relative to landmarks such as τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ βουνοῦ τῆς Καραφιλτζανάκας (II.218.14-15), convey the pirates' attempts to orientate themselves *vis-à-vis* the Kastro. The pirates' ship first anchors in a bay off the island's southwestern coast (κατὰ τὸ νοτιοδυτικὸν τῆς νήσου II.217.23), before turning northwards (πρὸς βορρᾶν II.218.15-16). Not only is the latitude of the castle (north) contrasted to the town (south), but the three crosses at the site of Stavros face different directions, like the points of a compass. Furthermore, descriptions of horizons, of open spaces, run through the narrative from the opening depiction of the castle (βαθὺς καὶ ἀτέρμων ἐξετείνετο ὁ ὁρίζων II.212.30). Often, too, these larger geographical expanses are juxtaposed against the more intimate locale of the narrative's main action which they incorporate.

The text's temporal and spatial discontinuities prompt the reader to pose questions about the narrator's claims to be chronicling his personal memories; and the relationship between the narrator's purported autobiography and the biography of the saint he actually narrates. If the narrator opens his account with a collective reminiscence (ὅταν ἤμεθα παιδία II.211.1), he switches in the fifth paragraph to the use of the first person singular - and a preoccupation with his personal recollections: Γράφω ἁπλῶς τὰς ἀναμνήσεις καὶ ἐντυπώσεις τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας μου (II.211.21-22). Here, the singularity of writing is contrasted with the plurality of belief - conveyed by the villagers' collective outings to the chapels. The narrator both identifies with the islanders (οἱ συμπατριῶταί μου) but retains his distance from them. This is evident, for example, in the way he distances himself from the unquestioning reception of the saint's martyrdom (ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν ἁγιάσει ἐκεῖ, ἔλεγον. Πῶς; Πότε; II.214.14). At the same time, he draws near to the stranger he meets in Macedonia implicitly because he is a συμπατριώτης. Yet, as already noted, the stranger who recounts the saint's life

has been long estranged from his homeland. The use of the locative ἐκεῖ in this sentence (ἐγνώρισα ἐκεῖ ἔντιμον συμπατριώτην II.214.22) intensifies this alienation, since it parallels the occurrence of the same word two paragraphs previously - where ἐκεῖ is twice used to designate the place on the island where the saint had been killed (ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν ἁγιάσει ἐκεῖ). Yet it is precisely in Macedonia that the story of the saint's death on the island (meticulously located as πλησίον τῶν Τριῶν Σταυρῶν II.214.27) is described.

This juxtaposition of homeland (παραδόσεις τοῦ τόπου τῆς γεννήσεώς μας II.214.24) and exile forms part of the text's larger spatial preoccupations. It also relates to the pervading theme of estrangement which takes the form of the individual's alienation from a social existence. The goat-herd is cut off from the castle and leads a solitary routine. His anonymity, like that of the exile in Macedonia, or the narrator himself, contrasts with the pirate captain's name and that of the castle's gate-keeper and the owner of the goats which the herdsman tends (symbolically called Anagnostis or Reader). In fact the social scenes evoked at the beginning, from the narrator's own past, as well as images of conviviality associated with the castle, emphasize the tension in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* between the individual and the collective.

A relationship, or identification, is also sustained between the narrator and the saint. Firstly, like the impoverished goat-herd, the narrator stresses that he is a native of the island, intimate with its topography (like the exiled islander, and the pirate captain Solman who is also familiar with the island's geography and the legends surrounding certain landmarks such as the Krio Pigadi). Both the saint and the narrator remain anonymous and they are the same age: the shepherd is forty when he is killed, just as the narrator is forty at the time of the story's publication in 1891.[11] Both the narrator and the

11.As in numerous stories there is an obvious parallel here

goat-herd are cut off from the collective; the literate narrator hints at a separation from the community life of his childhood years, while the herdsman is locked out of the castle and has to fend for himself. Both are intent on preservation; the narrator as a chronicler in preserving the memories of his childhood experiences and island's traditions, the herdsman in preserving the castle from destruction. At the same time the goat-herd's heroic act turns out to be suicidal and a further irony is intimated by the fact that for all the saint's efforts to preserve the Kastro, the castle will be abandoned eventually and crumble to ruin. Ideas of suicide or sacrifice permeate the narrative from the allusions at the beginning to Gloucester's attempted suicide in *King Lear* (II.212.7), to the saint's death, and the reference in Herodotus to Xerxes' sacrifice of a Greek sailor (II.214.10-11).

If the narrator is associated with the saint, he is also associated with the pirates of the saint's life story. The opening description of the castle is significant in this respect since it is the only time the narrator relates accounts of his own visits to the fortress. Like the pirates, the children arrive in groups, and tyrannize the women. They too are thieves (ὀλίγον ἄρτον, ὃν εἴχομεν κλέψει II.211.14), and involved in childhood acts of vandalism (νὰ καταρρίπτωσι διὰ πυγμῶν καὶ λακτισμάτων τοὺς ὀλίγους τοίχους τῶν οἰκιῶν II.213.20-21). At the same time, the narrator's attempt to capture the past is a parody of the pirates' incursion on to the island to capture the castle. In *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος*, therefore, the walled town which has fallen into ruin functions metonymically in relation to the problematic boundaries which divide history from the present and biography from autobiography.

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between the identity of the narrator and of the author Papadiamantis, who was born in 1851.

Footpaths and Roads

Papadiamantis' protagonists are peripatetic, journeying across the island or walking through the city, so that, in a literal sense, his stories begin "on ground level, with footsteps" (de Certeau 1988: 124). Paths and roads (μονοπάτια, δρόμοι, δρομίσκοι) connect different zones within the landscape. From the village streets they lead out into a network of labyrinthine tracks (λαβύρινθοι as the narrator calls them in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* III.419.6), many of them barely visible and overgrown. The island setting of the texts underlines the insularity of the local transport system. On the one hand road-building symbolizes the incursion of the bureaucratic state's hegemony over the local. Thus, in *Οἱ Χαλασοχώρηδες*, one of the candidates seeking election as the island's parliamentary representative vows to construct an ἐθνικὴ ὁδός which will be situated παρὰ τὴν πρωτεύουσαν τῆς ἐπαρχίας (II.429.6-7). Similarly, in *Δημαρχίνα νύφη* the narrator intimates the futility of the mayor's grandiose road-building schemes:

> «ὁ μεγαλοπράγμων δήμαρχος» κ. Ν. Ἀγγούδης, κατεσκεύασε τρεῖς ὡραίας ὁδοὺς διασκιζούσας τὴν νῆσον, ἐξ ὧν ἡ μία ἄγει εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν (sic), ἡ δευτέρα πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν Ἑλλάδα, κ'ἡ τρίτη ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (IV.386.26-29).

Roads here represent attempts to forge national unification and consolidation, as well as a form of pacification. They are inextricably bound up with the state and are synonymous with economic progress and with a rejection of Greece's Ottoman legacy, which left the country devoid of any road network (cf. Sinarelli 1989: 20). In contrast to these nationalizing physical changes, paths and tracks stand for local agrarian and pastoral values which are being steadily eroded. They are reticulated traces which "embody the

values assigned to particular routes: danger, safety, waiting, promise" (Lefebvre 1992: 118).

There is an emphasis in numerous stories on the dilapidated state of the paths which frequently disappear, leaving the protagonist disorientated. The forking paths become metaphoric for the digressive ramifications of the narratives themselves. In *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, for example, the narrator switches from a polemical declaration of his faith in the Orthodox Church, to an account of the cantor Konstantinos' misadventures on his way to an outlying chapel where he is required to celebrate the Easter liturgy. Given the emphasis placed throughout on δρόμοι, it is significant that Konstantinos' destination is a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, or Πρόδρομος. The narrative itself bifurcates between an account of the anxious priest and his congregation who are waiting for the cantor, and the problems encountered by Konstantinos, who loses his way, in reaching his destination. At the end of the narrative, the cantor is literally lost from the story which focuses on a land dispute between two goat-herds. In this way, the narrative of *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* mimes a process of disorientation which is one of its major themes.[12]

In *Ἡ Πεποικιλμένη*, the narrator leaves town on foot in order to celebrate the liturgy in a remote chapel with his young friend Kostis. He observes that the the tracks (δρομίσκοι) are winding and in a state of disrepair:

> Ἄλλος καταπατεῖ τοῦ γείτονος τὸ κτῆμα, ἢ τὸ δημοτικόν, ἢ τὸ μοναστηριακόν, καὶ ὠθεῖ τὸν δρόμον πάρα ἔξω, ἄλλος ἀνοίγει μονοπάτι ὅπου φθάσῃ, μέσα εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς, καὶ συντομεύει τὸν δρόμον, ἄλλος κτίζει καλύβην, στρώνει

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12. In a recent analysis of this text, Saunier provides some useful insights into the deployment of irony and the relationship between the prologue and the story's main action. He overstates his argument, however, in suggesting that Papadiamantis is offering, albeit unconsciously, a subversive anti-religious tract (1992: 21-34).

> ἄλωνα, καὶ κατασκευάζει φράκτην πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον του (IV.337-338).

The unruly paths underline the shifting and unstable boundaries inscribed in the landscape, as well as the contested claims of ownership on the land. This relationship between paths and property ownership is important in such texts as *Τὰ Φραγκλέικα* (IV.446-447) and *Ἡ Ξομπλιαστήρα* [1906], where the old lady Kantousena erects a boundary across the main road, forcing villagers to circumvent it (IV.170-171). If paths are invisible to those unfamiliar with the landscape, they may even mislead the local inhabitants themselves (II.536.5-19). Thus, the protagonists in *Ἡ Πεποικιλμένη* lose their way in the darkness, until they are rescued by the gardener Papas (IV.338.26-31). Both Kostis and the narrator are mutually deceived in their belief that the other is familiar with the route to the chapel:

> Ἐγὼ εἶχα τὴν ἰδέαν ὅτι ὁ Κωστὴς θὰ ἤξευρε καλύτερ'ἀπὸ ἐμὲ τὸν δρόμον, ὡς νέος, καὶ κατοικῶν διαρκῶς εἰς τὸν τόπον. Ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνει ὅτι ἐγὼ θὰ ἐνθυμούμην καλύτερα τὰ κατατόπια, ὡς παλαιός, καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὰ ἐξωκκλήσια (IV.337.30-33).

In *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα* the narrative focuses repeatedly on the routes taken in the course of various pilgrimages by the narrator and his cousin Mahoula. In the half-darkness, the protagonists slip on the cobbled surface, prompting the narrator to hold Mahoula lest she fall (III.226.3-4). Later he details the incident of the sheet falling over them as they walked along τὸν μέσα δρόμον (III.226.20,21). In the ensuing section which describes the trip to the Church of Saint John the Divine, the narrator remarks:

> Ἀκολούθως ἐφθάσαμεν εἰς τὰ διάφορα κτήματα τ''Αβράμη, ὅπου ἐχρειάσθη νὰ κάμωμεν πολλὰς

> καμπὰς διὰ νὰ εὕρωμεν τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἰδιοκτήτης εἶχε κηρύξει κοινωνιστικὸν δόγμα: «Ἐὰν ὁ γείτων μου εἶναι τεμπέλης, ἀνίκανος νὰ καλλιεργήσῃ τὸ κτῆμά του, δὲν ἁμαρτάνω ἂν τὸ καταπατήσω» (III.227.6-10).

The spring is ten minutes down the path (III.228.11-12), while the narrowness of the path is twice repeated (στενὸς δρομίσκος III.228.25, στενὸν μονοπάτι III.228-229). Moreover, the track lies half obscured by shrubs (III.228.25-26), by the left of a walled lemon grove (III.228.23).

The paths in *Ἁμαρτίας Φάντασμα* prompt the narrator's diverse experiences. They lead him to the spring where he has his vision. They also bring the narrator and Mahoula into physical intimacy and become, as Herzfeld remarks of the alleyways in "Rethemnos", a source of "closeness and secrecy" (1991: 44).[13] If the paths are boundary markers, and are therefore linked to enclosure, they also disclose. In short, Papadiamantis' wandering narrators frequently retrace footways back to former haunts. Paths are explicitly linked to time - distance being measured by the time it takes to walk along specific paths (e.g. II.518.1). Furthermore, these irregular tracks are associated with a pre-mechanized form of time-keeping, as Thompson suggests when he quotes from Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* [1891]:

> Tess...started on her way up the dark and crooked lane or street not made for hasty progress; a street laid out before inches of land had value, and when one-handed clocks sufficiently subdivided the day (1967: 56).[14]

13.See Herzfeld's discussion of the ambiguous social significance of alleyways (σοκάκια) which represent both constraint and oppression, linked to στενοχωρία, but also stand for intimacy and adventure (1991: 42-44).

14.The notion of "time-paths" has been explored by the Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, who, since the 1970s, has developed a notation with which to chart the movements of individuals across differing spans of time and

Finally, the shifting island tracks contrast to the state imposed road network (cf. Sinarelli 1989: 19-106). They reflect the fallible nature of memory itself, which is perpetually transformed by revision, conflation, and invention.[15]

As Saunier has observed, there is a close connection between texts such as *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* and *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* (1992: 29-30) where protagonists are late for, or evade, the liturgy. Both stories focus upon crucial moments of decision, when the protagonists are confronted by different paths from which they have to choose.[16] The symbolic nature of this choice in *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* is stressed by the narrator's assertion that in retrospect the experience took on the dimensions of an allegory (μοῦ φαίνεται ὡς νὰ ἦτο ἀλληγορία ὅλης τῆς ζωῆς μου III.243.22-23), by his repeated quotation from the first canto of Dante's *Inferno*: "Chè la diritta via era smarrita" (III.243.24,27) and by the

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space. For an illuminating discussion of Hägerstrand's theories and their application beyond geographical studies, see Giddens (1989: 111-118, 132-134).

15. In his analysis of *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη*, Mackridge suggests that landscape functions as a type of *aide-mémoire* and he refers to a study by Frances Yates, which explores the use of landscape as a serviceable mnemonic device [1966]. In the context of Papadiamantis' fiction, however, there are problems with this interpretation of landscape as a static backdrop which is not affected by the project of its remembrance. See the general reservations expressed by Susanne Küchler to the prevalent "Western" perceptions of landscape: "The alternative to landscape as inscribed surface and *aide-mémoire*, is a perspective which holds landscape to be implicated as template in the process of memory-work. Following this perspective of landscape *as memory* (process), rather than inscription of memory, image-making practice and its visual forms are implicated in the process of remembering and forgetting and thus are shaped by memory-work rather by accounts of distinct memories" (1993: 86).

16. A similar choice is made in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν*, where the narrator, who similarly evades the liturgy, remarks: ἐγὼ ἀνέλαβα τὸν δρόμον μου, ἀλλὰ μετ'ὀλίγον τὸν ἔχασα. Εἰς ἓν σταυροδρόμιον ὅπου ἔφθασα, ἐπῆρα τὸν δρόμον ἀριστερά (III.329.31-33). As in *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* and *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*, the protagonist takes the left path. The left is traditionally associated with sin and death. See, in this context, Stewart (1991: 177-180).

statements made by the monk in the boy's vision.[17] Significantly, too, the narrator employs the katharevousa ὁδὸς to emphasize the metaphoric dimension of the road (III.243.27) when all along he has used the nouns δρομίσκος, δρόμος or μονοπάτι (III.238.7,20, 239.11-12, 240.3, 243.18,19, 245.28, 246.1, 247.11,13,15). The path here becomes a sacred way (ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ Κυρίου V.198.22), a place of symbolic encounters and trials.

In *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* the protagonist wanders off the right path into a realm of ghosts, shepherds and outsiders (see Chapter 5). The episode of the young boy's escapade in the ravine («Χαιρημονᾶ τὸ ρέμα»), however, is anticipated by the earlier episode when his mare takes fright and gallops off, out of control, along a path which becomes progressively uneven (ἀνώμαλος III.240.3). Meanwhile, the boy's distraught father is in pursuit of the horse:

> 'Επῆρ'ἐν μονοπάτι πλάγιον· ἔπειτα τὸ ἔχασε,
> κ'ἔτρεχε μέσα στὰ χωράφια. 'Επροσπάθει
> ἀπελπιστικῶς νὰ κόψῃ τὸν δρόμον τῆς φοράδας
> (III.239.10-12).

The protagonist's father endeavours to cut off the horse's path, just as later the rocks and shrubs impede the boy's way (ὁ δρόμος πλέον ἐκόπτετο III.245.28).[18] The attention to the boy's dangerous flight (in both cases he experiences φόβος III.239.26, 444.5) and to the bifurcating paths clearly prefigures his disorientation on the mountain side.

17.Ricks has drawn attention to the Homeric allusion in this passage which describes the protagonist wandering from his path. He suggests that the verb ἀπεπλανήθην (III.243.16) may echo Homer's *Odyssey* 1.2 (1992b: 185). The verb does recur in Papadiamantis. See, for example, *'Η Πεποικιλμένη* (IV.338.12).

18.Interdictions, such as the sudden, looming presence of rocks and walls, which impede the protagonists' progress, recur in texts such as *'Η Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*: 'Αποτόμως ὁ δρόμος τοῦ ἐκόπη. 'Ο τοῖχος...ἐφάνη ὡς νὰ κατῆλθε κ'ἐκρεμάσθη μέχρι τοῦ ἐδάφους, καὶ τοῦ ἔφραξε τὴν ὁδόν (III.618.21-22). Similarly, in *'Η Φαρμακολύτρια* a wall of rock confronts the narrator: ὑψηλὸς μαῦρος βράχος ἵστατο ἀπέναντί μου (III.308.4).

Similarly, the branching paths in the ravine are reminiscent of the numerous effluent streams which merge further down the mountain into a river (ἡ κοιλὰς διχάζεται εἰς δύο, καὶ τὰ δίδυμα ρεύματα συμβάλλουσιν εἰς ἕνα ποταμόν, ἐκβάλλοντα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν III.241-242).

The landscape in *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* is open to multiple interpretations, offering the protagonist numerous choices. Just as the mare attempts to bolt for her freedom (III.238.28), so the boy runs off into the freedom of the countryside, to escape from the liturgy (III.241.1-3). But as the narrative intimates, freedom involves the necessity of making choices while its consequences can be despair, loneliness and even death.

In fact, the relationship of paths or roads to death and betrayal is expressed in several texts, such as *Τὸ Μυρολόγι τῆς φώκιας* [1908], *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* and *Τὸ Τυφλὸ σοκκάκι* [1906]. In the first of these, which takes place at a location known as το Κοχύλι - where Frangoyannou attempts to hide in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* - the narrator pays close attention to the path (τὸ μονοπάτι) taken by the old lady Loukena on her way to the seashore.[19] Later, Loukena's granddaughter Akrivoula who follows the old lady, takes the wrong path and falls over a cliff into the sea (IV.299). Similarly, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the narrator describes the κρυφὸν μονοπάτι (III.447.12, 491.12) along which Frangoyannou attempts to escape and the so-called Μονοπάτι στὸ Κλῆμα (III.517) which the policemen brace themselves to cross in their pursuit of the murderess. Here, however, as in *Τὸ Μυρολόγι τῆς φώκιας*, the path leads nowhere; it is literally a dead-end and the protagonist is swamped by the sea, drowned εἰς τὸ ἤμισυ τοῦ δρόμου, μεταξὺ τῆς θείας καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δικαιοσύνης (III.520.15-16). The figurative and literal significance of the cul-de-sac is also drawn out, as the title itself indicates, in *Τὸ Τυφλὸ σοκκάκι*. Here, a married couple install themselves in their new house which is situated εἰς

19.The location known as τὸ Κοχύλι also figures in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* (II.542-543).

ἕνα «δρόμον ποὺ δὲ βγαίνει» (IV.115.10). At the end of the story the ἀδιέξοδον τοῦ δρόμου (IV.116-117) becomes a trap in which a prying neighbour catches out the wife in an adulterous relationship with their «κουμπάρος». As the narrator remarks of Ilias Xideris, the neighbourhood spy:

> Φαίνεται δὲ ὅτι εἶχε διοργανώσει πρὸς τοῦτο τακτικὴν πολιορκίαν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῆς ὁποίας πολὺ συνέτεινε τὸ «τυφλὸ σοκάκι», τὸ ἀδιέξοδον τοῦ δρόμου - ὅπου ἠδύνατό τις νὰ σφλομώση ἄνθρωπον ὡς χταπόδι στὸ θαλάμι του, καὶ νὰ τὸν συλλάβῃ ὡς ποντικόν (IV.116-117).

Paths and roads in Papadiamantis' fiction divide the land with fissures, spreading out like a family tree with multiple branches and dead-ends. They are symbolic boundaries inscribed in the landscape which lead the wanderers to vision, to new insight, but also to alienation and to death:

> along these roads and paths, around the edge or across the center, the characters move in the slow dance of their approaches and withdrawals, encountering repeatedly a crossroads or a fork in the path, that intersection in the journey through the maze of life which figures so powerfully the moment of choice (Miller 1981: 125).

In *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* the treacherous narrow lane emphasizes the protagonist's alienation:

> Σοκάκι μου μακρὺ-στενό, μὲ τὴν κατεβασιά σου,
> κάμε κ' ἐμένα γείτονα μὲ τὴν γειτόνισσά σου
> (III.108.8-9).

The narrator repeats the fact that snow covers the lane (III.108.11-12, 108.22-23), while Yiannios metaphorically

links himself to it: καὶ ἐγὼ σοκάκι εἶμαι, ἐμορμύρισε...ζωντανὸ σοκάκι (III.110.1). Here, far from conveying intimacy, στενό connotes restriction and becomes an outward manifestation of the protagonist's στενοχωρία. When Barba Yiannios falls to the ground, he covers the width of the passage: Ἐξηπλώθη ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος, καὶ κατέλαβε μὲ τὸ μακρόν του ἀνάστημα ὅλον τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μακροῦ στενοῦ δρομίσκου (III.110.3-4). The σοκάκι stands for the temptation and sin which is covered by a figurative shroud of snow and recalls the negative connotations of the road in Greek, summarized by the expression του δρόμου (cf.Hirschon 1978: 80). "Roads" induce promiscuous and licentious behaviour and exist in a symbolic tension with the "house" (cf. Hirschon 1993: 84).

In texts such as *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* routes or paths are associated with memory, both collective and personal, while stories and legends cling to them. A great deal of emphasis is placed by the narrator on the paths leading to the castle (Τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες ὁδοὶ ἔφερον ἀπὸ τῆς νεωτέρας πολίχνης εἰς τὸ Κάστρον II.213.27-28). The main route known as ὁ Μεγάλος δρόμος cuts across a wide geographical area (διήρχετο διὰ πολλῶν τοποθεσιῶν), each section of which has become the repository of folk traditions (ὡς ἑκάστη εἶχε τὴν ἱστορίαν της καὶ τὰς περὶ φαντασμάτων καὶ νεραΐδων παραδόσεις της II.213.29-31). In this way the dispersion of stories is linked to the dispersion of pathways. At the same time, the paths leading to the Kastro play an important part in the subsequent denouement of the plot. While the pirates ask the goat-herd which route to take to the Kastro (II.216.11), the goat-herd himself forestalls the brigands by following secret mountain paths. As the narrator remarks:

> Ἐγνώριζε παμπόλλας πλαγίας ὁδοὺς καὶ μονοπάτια γνωστὰ μόνον εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματός του.

> Ἐκεῖ μεταξὺ τῶν θάμνων, ἤρχιζεν ἕνα μονοπάτι γνωστότατον αὐτῷ· χιλιάκις τὸ εἶχε διατρέξει...
> Ἦτο μονοπάτι καὶ ἦτο κρημνός. Ὡμοίαζε μὲ τὸν κρημνὸν καὶ μὲ τὸ μονοπάτι τοῦ δημώδους ἄσματος (II.220.20-29)

In contrast, Solman, the leader of the brigands, who has visited the island many years before δὲν ἐνθυμεῖτο καλῶς τὸν δρόμον (II.218.8-9).

Like the digressive narratives, the meandering paths disorientate, while offering multiple perspectives and underlining the polysemous nature of the landscape which is traversed:

> Κατὰ τὰς ποικίλας κυμάνσεις τῆς ὁδοῦ, σύμφωνα μὲ τὰ κοιλώματα ἢ τὰς προεξοχὰς τοῦ ἐδάφους, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ ὀναρίου τὰς ἰδιοτρόπους καὶ πείσμονας - καθὼς ἐξάνοιγα τὸ πρῶτον τὴν δρῦν, καθόσον ἐπλησίαζα ἢ ἀπεμακρυνόμην ἀπ' αὐτῆς, τόσας θέας, ἀπόψεις καὶ φάσεις ἐλάμβανε τὸ δένδρον (III.328.29-33).

Overlapping pathways weave places together and offer the walker innumerable possibilities. They connect the rural to the urban, the private to the public. Ironically, paths often subvert their intended function: constructed for the purposes of communication, they lead the walker to isolation, or to death. At the same time, however, the routes which inscribe the landscape of Papadiamantis' texts are themselves the creations of countless repetitive walks; they are legible time-paths, networks of "moving, intersecting writings" (de Certeau 1988: 93).

Asylums and Prisons

Δὲν εἶναι πιὰ ἐδῶ ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ ποὺ κρατάει τὸν πρῶτο ρόλο Elytis asserts in his analysis of Papadiamantis' Skiathos, θέλω νὰ πῶ τὰ κτίσματα [1976] (1989: 23).[20] Despite Elytis' claims, Papadiamantis' texts are pervaded with architectural details and an analysis of architectural forms in Papadiamantis constitutes an analysis of the meanings with which - in his fiction - those forms are invested by society and the individual. Like the fortified old town in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος*, architecture is textualized in Papadiamantis' short stories and novels as a mediating structure between the subject and society. Buildings and bounded territories are appropriated in this sense as metaphors, the narrator "constructing complex analogies between house and psyche, house and family structure, house and social environment, house and text" (Chandler 1991: 3).

In the first place the house represents the domestic locus of the woman who ventures out into the world beyond it only on specific religious occasions (cf. Hirschon 1993: 57). Thus, in *Ἁμαρτίας φάντασμα*, the narrator remarks that δὲν νομίζεται καλὸν εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας νὰ διέρχωνται διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς (III.226.18-19). Similarly, in *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα*, the narrator maintains that social convention and τὰ ἔθιμα τοῦ τόπου debar female excursions out of their houses, except for religious rituals (III.121.14-20). In *Τρελὴ βραδιὰ*, the narrator declares that:

> Τὰ κορίτσια τῆς γειτονιᾶς ἐκλειδώνοντο ἐνωρίς, ὅμοια μὲ τὰ πουλιὰ ποὺ κατιάζουν ἐνωρὶς εἰς τὰς φωλεάς των (III.316.4-5).

The home is often linked metaphorically to a bird's nest in Greek folklore and popular language (cf. Hirschon 1993: 57-58) and the association of the home with the nest also

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20.Elytis also compares Papadiamantis' fiction to a building (1976: 17).

recurs in Papadiamantis' stories.[21] If the house is compared to the natural world, it also stands opposed to that world (cf. du Boulay 1974: 56). Women sit on porches, or peer cautiously out of windows, like Hristina in *Χωρὶς στεφάνι*, or Ourania in *Ὑπηρέτρα*, who ἔλαβε τὴν τόλμην νὰ ἐξέλθῃ εἰς τὸν σκεπαστὸν καὶ περίφρακτον ὑπὸ σανίδων ἐξώστην τῆς οἰκίας, ὅπου κρυπτομένη εἰς τὸ σκότος προέβαλε διὰ τῆς θυρίδος τὴν κεφαλήν (II.96.5-7).

In numerous Papadiamantis texts the home is a place of refuge against the vicissitudes of the natural environment. In *Τὸ Σπιτάκι στὸ Λιβάδι* [1896], Maro and her daughter are cut off by the rain which threatens to bring down the house (III.155.15). In *Τὰ Χριστούγεννα τοῦ τεμπέλη* [1896], Pavlos Piskoletos' family bolt themselves in their house to escape the wrath of a neighbour (III.163.21-22). In *Οἱ Ἐλαφροΐσκιωτοι* [1892], Lenio is accustomed to locking the door of her hut when she is alone with her children (II.481.15-17). If houses are shelters, there are frequent attempts to violate them and break inside. In *Ἡ Βλαχοπούλα*, for example, a man tries forcefully to insinuate himself into Flora's dwelling, even though she has secured the door by placing a chair under the handle (II.373.20-22). The threat of a forced intrusion into the house is also developed in *Τὰ Συμβάντα στὸν μύλο* [1914], where Sofia is literally besieged by the relatives of her dead husband who are enraged that she has inherited his property. In fact, the narrator observes that Sofia and her sister Loukritia have been forced to lock themselves into the remote mill at Kehria, precisely because the relatives have seized their town house κ'ἐνήργησαν νὰ σφραγισθῇ ἡ θύρα καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις (IV.520.16-17).

Often the texts subvert conventional notions of the home as an idyllic asylum or a "firelit circle enclosed against the hostile and dangerous external world" (Trodd 1989: 1).

21.See in this context Bachelard, who remarks: "Le nid comme toute image de repose, de tranquillité, s'associe immédiatement à l'image de la maison simple" (1989: 92-104).

Significantly, *Ἡ Φόνισσα* begins precisely with such a description of the murderous grandmother sitting by the hearth. In fact, throughout the novella homes are uncanny places of intrigue, illness and death. When she visits Yiannis' home, for example, Frangoyannou finds the two windows and door closed (III.462.3). Indeed, the ramshackle building ἐμαρτύρει περὶ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τῆς οἰκοκυρᾶς (III.462.1-2). Later, the gardener's infirm wife appears, unexpectedly, wrapped up in a woollen blanket, ὁμοία μὲ φάντασμα ἴστατο εἰς τὸ χάσμα τῆς θύρας (III.464.16).[22]

Homes are locales of crime and other felonious acts, while their inhibiting walls imprison those within. A protagonist in *Τὰ Δύο κούτσουρα*, for example, dreams that she is being pursued inside her house by an ἄγνωστος ἐχθρός, μαῦρος Σκυλάραπας and jumps through the window to save herself (III.631.8). In both Papadiamantis' early novels *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* and *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα*, descriptions of monasteries occupy a prominent part in the narrative and in both texts pivotal episodes focus on locked doors and the acquisition of prohibited keys. Like Ioannis Mouhras' house at the beginning of *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* which is surrounded by a high wall and contains three towers (I.137.10-11), the monastery is depicted as both a refuge (ἄσυλον) and a prison. If Augusta seeks sanctuary inside a monastery, in *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα*, Aïma is locked up inside one. As the narrator inquires ironically in *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν*:

> Ὑπάρχουσι γυναῖκες καταφεύγουσαι εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια ἐκ κόρου καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν ἄλλαι ἐγκολπούμεναι τὸν μοναχικὸν βίον ἐκ λιμοῦ; (I.226.31-33).

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22. Yiannis' eldest daughter misleads the murderess into believing that her mother is not at home: Ζὲν εἶναι ζῶ, εἶπε πάλιν τὸ μικρόν (III.463.1). There is an ominous pun here in the mispronounced adverb ζῶ, which as a verb means to live, or to be alive. The infant is murdered a few moments later, her own childish speech, therefore, prophesying her end.

Later, Augusta's moral dilemma is expressed in terms of her relationship to the monastery which is conceived of simultaneously as a haven and a tomb:

> Πᾶσαι αἱ θύραι ἦσαν κεκλεισμέναι πρὸς αὐτήν. Ὑπῆρχε κατ'ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μία πύλη εὐρύχωρος, πανδέγμων, ἓν κοῖλον ἀμέτρητον. Ἦτο τὸ μοναστήριον (I.299.26-29)

At the same time, however, religion excludes Augusta so that her ἄσυλον τῆς θρησκείας becomes a tomb (τάφον). In another scene, as a candle goes out inside her cell, one of the nuns (Zinovia) imagines herself inside hell (I.290.11). In Papadiamantis' stories, the house, no less than the monastery, is envisaged simultaneously as a heaven and a purgatory.

Ideas of confinement and of refuge (both ἄσυλον and καταφύγιον) are central motifs in the early novels and they are also important in Papadiamantis' story *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης*, where the image of the harem is anticipated by the description of the house where Vaso is incarcerated by her parents. The doors of both buildings are kept securely locked. As the narrator remarks: εἶχε κλειδωμένην ἔσωθεν τὴν θύραν διὰ διπλῆς στροφῆς, διότι συνήθεια ἦτο νὰ κλείωνται αἱ κόραι ὅταν ἦσαν μόναι (II.13.20-21). At the same time, Halil Agha's abduction of the young girl - the action which instigates the plot - is matched by Milionis' kidnapping of the cadi from the mosque (II.21).

Emphasis is given here to the evocation of space and boundaries as they relate to cultural values. Thus, Milionis' invasion of the mosque is considered by the Turks as an act of blasphemy: ἡ ἰδέα πῶς ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ ἔλθῃ ἄπιστος νὰ βεβηλώσῃ τὸν ἱερὸν χῶρον, ἔπνιγε πᾶν ἄλλο αἴσθημα (II.21.14-15). Likewise, the Turkish soldiers force their entry into a Greek house in their search of Vaso's father Kostas Mandas who attempts to escape out of the window

(II.37), anticipating Frangoyannou's break-out in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* (III.499.22-24). In each case the episode dramatizes an act of transgression or trespass in which an alien violates a sacred space. The narrative of *Χρῆστος Μηλιόνης*, like those of the early novels and many of the later short stories, is characterized by a dynamic pattern of invasions and evasions.

The house functions both as a benign and a malevolent symbol. If its walls separate, they also conjoin. In *Ὑπηρέτρα*, for example, the narrator notes that Ouranio remains alone in the house, even though her aunt lives next door and they are separated by a single shared wall: αἱ οἰκίαι των ἐχωρίζοντο δι'ἑνὸς τοίχου.[23] Paradoxically, aunt and niece do not communicate, since there has been a family feud over the ownership of δύο στρέμματα ἀγροῦ (II.95.12). If the house is simultaneously depicted as an asylum and a prison, Papadiamantis narratives often evoke ideas of siege. In the opening description of Sofoula in *Ἡ Τελευταία βαπτιστική* [1888], for example, the narrator declares:

> Ἀλλ'ὅταν ἅπαξ ἐγνώσθη καὶ ἀπεδείχθη ὅτι εἶχε *καλὸ χέρι*, τότε ὅλαι αἱ γει_τόνισσαι, συγγενεῖς, παρασυγγενεῖς, κολλήγισσαι, ἤρχισαν νὰ τὴν πολιορκοῦν (II.89.14-16).

23.An identical description occurs in *Τὸ Χριστόψωμο*, where Dialehti is separated from her mother-in-law by a wall: αἱ δύο οἰκίαι ἐχωρίζοντο διὰ τοίχου κοινοῦ (II.79.22). In fact there is a preoccupation with internal partitions throughout Papadiamantis' fiction. Thus, in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, for example, the narrator repeatedly notes the sounds which are audible through the makeshift ξυλότοιχος which separates off Dandis' and Amersa's bedroom - variously described as a θάλαμος or μικρὸν χώρισμα (e.g. III.422.27-31). See also the description of Stamatis' house in *Τὰ Δύο τέρατα*, which is divided up into separate rooms by the hanging cloth of two large sails (IV.321.29-33); a detail that recalls the old sheet which is stretched across the room where the Marmeladovs live in *Crime and Punishment*. See Dostoevsky (1992: 34).

Metaphorically, Sofoula is besieged by her neighbours, while a few paragraphs later, ideas of enclosure and literal siege are alluded to in the depiction of the walled courtyard where the Easter celebrations take place. The children who are excluded from the celebrations poke their faces through the closed gate. When they attempt to climb over the walls, they are chased off by those inside:

> Πολλὰ αὐτῶν προέτεινον τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τῶν σχισμῶν τῆς κλειστῆς αὐλείου θύρας, ἥτις ἐμοχλεύετο ἔσωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ζηλοτύπων βαπτιστικῶν διὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας ἔνδυμα γάμου. Ἄλλα παιδία τολμηρότερα ἀνεῖρπον εἰς τὸν θριγκὸν τοῦ τοίχου τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ εὕρισκον τρόπον νὰ εἰσπηδήσωσιν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ ἔνδον. Ἀλλ' ἀλλοίμονον ἂν παρετηροῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγρύπνων εὐνοουμένων (II.91.11-17).

On the day of the child's drowning, the narrator again notes that those inside the courtyard are literally besieged:

> Τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡ θεια-Σοφούλα ἦτο κλειστὴ εἰς τὸ ἰσόγειον καὶ ἐζύμωνεν. Ἐκ τῶν παιδίων τινὰ τὴν ἐπολιόρκουν ἔξωθεν τῆς θύρας παραμονεύοντα (II.91.29-31).

It is in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, however, that the siege imagery is developed furthest. Ideas of shelter and refuge occur initially in Delharo's flight where she finds a καταφύγιο in the tree (III.419.32). After her marriage, when Frangoyannou moves into her sister-in-law's home, open conflict erupts and, as the narrator expresses it, ἤρχισε πόλεμος ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου (III.426.32-33). Prompted by this familial antagonism, Frangoyannou builds her own house:

> Τὴν μίαν χρονιὰν ἠμπόρεσε μόνον νὰ κτίσῃ τέσσαρας τοίχους λασποκτίστους, μικροὺς καὶ

> χαμηλοὺς καὶ νὰ τοὺς στεγάσῃ· τὴν δευτέραν χρονιὰν κατώρθωσε νὰ πετσώσῃ κατὰ τὰ τρία τέταρτα τὸ σπίτι, δηλ. νὰ κατασκευάσῃ μικρὸν πάτωμα, μὲ διάφορα σανίδια, ἀνόμοια, παλαιὰ καὶ νέα (III.426-427).

The house becomes Frangoyannou's φωλιά (III.427.6-7) and an ἄσυλον (III.437.29-30, 438.2) where Mouros takes refuge against the law. An inversion takes place here, for the biblical connotations of καταφύγιο (cf. Ps. 45:1 and 89:1) are consistently undermined in the text. Far from being a pious retreat, the claustrophobic house becomes a place of illness like Yiannis' shuttered house (ἡ θύρα ἦτο κλειστή. Τὰ δύο παράθυρα κλειστά III.462.3), or the shepherds' cramped huts on the mountainside. Houses are locales of subterfuge, where money is buried and crimes are committed. The murderess kills her victims in the interior of houses, or in walled courtyards, so that "the home no longer appears as a sanctuary which should be defended" (Trodd 1989: 158).[24]

Furthermore, Mouros, Frangoyannou's son, locks himself in the house's storeroom where he stabs his sister and escapes through a hatch, an act of evasion that anticipates his mother's later escape through the window. Subsequently Mouros is apprehended and confined in the Venetian fortress at Halkida. Like the eagle's nest which is full of bones (III.459.2-6), the domestic φωλιά is transformed into a mausoleum. Ironically, the word ἄσυλον recurs frequently in the text as Frangoyannou seeks shelter in the mountains (III.485.9, 489.19, 514.13, 516.12). Similarly, the murderess is besieged by images which her fear conjures up: ἐπανῆλθον πάλιν καὶ τῆς ἔστησαν πολιορκίαν οἱ φόβοι καὶ τὰ φαντάσματα (III.493.10-11). In *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια*, too, the narrator is besieged (αἱ πολιορκοῦσαι τὸν νοῦν μου) by images and memories from the past (III.313.13). The motif of

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24. For a comparative account of female criminality in the Victorian novel, see Trodd's chapter "The Fiend in the House" (1989: 96-129).

physical enclosure gives way here to metaphorical ideas of siege, at the same time as patterns of invasion and evasion characterize the narrative. Moreover, the ambiguity of the asylum is exemplified by the image of the Kastro where Frangoyannou inherits her dowry (an impoverished inheritance which imprisons her economically) and to which she escapes as a refuge, thereby emphasizing the purpose for which it was constructed.

A final example of the siege motif and of the house as an ambiguous structure occurs in the posthumously published Athenian story *Τὸ 'Ιδιόκτητο* [1925]. Here, Kira Spiridoula's beleaguered brothel is located in a terraced house in a comfortable residential district of the city:

> Εὑρίσκετο εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τῶν οἰκιῶν μὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν του. Ὁλόγυρα σπίτια, ἓν καφενεῖον σιμά, δύο μπακάλικα, ἓν μανάβικον, καὶ κατέναντι ὡραία οἰκία μὲ κῆπον, χρησιμεύουσα ὡς δημοτικὸν σχολεῖον τῶν ἀρρένων. 'Ολίγον παρακάτω, ἄλλο σχολεῖον, τῶν κορασίων (IV.569.2-6).

Ideas of confinement intimated through the initial description of the house's iron railings which secure the windows (IV.569.1-2) are further underlined by the segregation of the sexes in different schools. Ironically, the narrator introduces the brothel in the first paragraph, as if it were a typical and vital social institution on a par with the shop, the *καφενεῖο* or the schools.

Emphasis is placed throughout the text on the claustrophobic architecture of the brothel. Not only are the windows barred, but the door of the courtyard is kept securely locked and admission to the building is regulated by strict codes: ὑπῆρχεν αὐστηρὰ ἐθιμοταξία ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὴν εἴσοδον (IV.569.9-10). The story focuses above all on the mystery of the establishment which is associated not only with

sexual transaction, but with money and with religious devotion, the madame of the institution being the wife of a priest. Rumour has it, for example, that Kira Spiridoula εἶχε πολλὰ εἰκονίσματα, κομποσχοίνια, κλπ. κ'ἔζη ἀσκητικῶς εἰς τὸ δωμάτιόν της (IV.571.12-13). In the final paragraphs the impregnability of the house is again stressed, as children and passers-by adopt various ingenious strategies in order to pry into the house's interior space: standing on tiptoe, peering in from a carriage, or climbing to the top of a pile of rubble. Significantly, the debris is from the remains of a house which has been demolished in the street, representing the ultimate form of exposure. The house in *Τὸ 'Ιδιόκτητο* is literally blockaded by young boys (εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν IV.572.10), one of whom attempts to knock his way through the wooden shutters μὲ πολιορκητικὸν κριόν (IV.571.32).

In short, therefore, *Τὸ 'Ιδιόκτητο* parodies the sacred space of the domestic home which is private domain hidden from the punitive enforcements of public opinion and is evoked as a facade, behind which lies mystery. The text thus engages with "the secrecy of the home and its problematic relationship with the public sphere" (Trodd 1989: 2) while the probing children strive to rip the housetop off and expose the inside. The chief irony of *Τὸ 'Ιδιόκτητο*, however, centres on an inversion: the brothel which undermines or besieges conventional values is here presented as the beleaguered bastion.

Papadiamantis' fiction thus repeatedly focuses on ideas of concealment, which in turn are associated with sequested, enclosed spaces. As Sissela Bok remarks, hiding is in fact the defining fact of secrecy:

> The separation between insider and outsider is inherent in secrecy; and to think something secret is already to envisage potential conflict between what insiders

> conceal and what outsiders inspect and lay bare (1984: 6).

Texts such as *Τὸ 'Ιδιόκτητο* elucidate the boundaries which individuals or groups erect, in order to establish shared spaces within which to safeguard information. If the barriers of secrecy generate mystery, they are also matters of power; "the power that comes through controlling the flow of information" (Bok 1984: 19). On the one hand, secrecy provides what Bok calls "a safety valve for individuals in the midst of communal life"; on the other hand, secrets can both alienate their keepers from the community and poison their possessors (1984: 20). Frangoyannou herself is the arch-dissembler and exemplary custodian of secrets. Not only is she cognizant of the island's secret paths and of the medicinal properties of local plants, but her reticence is itself a form of stealth. Although she rarely discloses her own secrets, even when journeying to confess at the church of Ἅις Γιάννης ὁ Κρυφός (III.459.10), she is nevertheless the keeper and discloser of what others would keep hidden. Thus, she uncovers her mother's secret cache of coins and acts as the confidante Marousa's secret πάθια (III.478.4). When her daughter Delharo is knifed by Mouros, she conceals the fact from the police, thereby reaffirming the boundaries within which familial secrets are kept secure.

Secrets, however, are often guarded by individuals from the members of their own families. In *Τὸ Χατζόπουλο* [1912], Hatzina feigns her pregnancy and retires to the country, ostensibly to give birth. She manipulates the traditional perceptions of the mysterious, miraculous aspects of childbirth, in order to mask an act of deception: she secretly adopts a child in order to provide her husband with a male heir (IV.417-418). In *Γυνὴ πλέουσα* Konstantinos' wife attempts to conceal her drinking habits from her husband. She uses her son, Manolis, as a clandestine intermediary to warn the grocer Kissiotis not to broach the subject with Konstantinos (IV.21.1-5). In this way an attempt is made to

impose barriers of secrecy within the family, although in this instance they are unsuccessful and Manolis misconstrues his mother's message. The irony here is that Konstantinos' wife's "secret" is in fact common knowledge to the preying neighbours (an "open secret"). In short, Papadiamantis' texts explore how the control of boundaries is inextricably bound up with secrecy, and how these mutable perimeters, if they are central to the construction of communal and individual identities, are also susceptible to manipulation.

While the island stories concentrate on regional boundaries, particular attention is paid to architectural and spatial configurations in the Athenian texts.[25] This is evident in *'Αποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ* which begins with a description of the impoverished student Spiros Vergoudis in his lodgings. The narrator focuses on the perspectives from his room: from one side a wide courtyard is visible, while another window affords a view over the city. The constricted accommodation and the architecturally open-ended structure of the building prompt the narrator to declare that: ἦτο οἰκία ὅπου ἠδύνατό τις νὰ παίξῃ ἐν ἀνέσει τὸ κρυφτάκι (II. 302.32-33). There are repeated allusions to the two doors which give access to the property and he further notes that these open and close incessantly (II.303.5-7, 307.20-22). The partitioning of the house, with its rented rooms in the basement and the Zaharias family residence on the upper floors, reflects a clear social hierarchy.

The social milieu within which the action takes place is repeatedly stressed. The Zaharias family is representative of an aspiring middle-class with φραγκοποτισμένα ἤθη (II.303.10). Thus, Mrs Zaharias smokes (II.302.31-32), while her daughters shop in Ermou Street (II.304.11) and her only son is serving as a soldier in the army

25.A conspicuous feature of Papadiamantis' Athenian stories is that they are set, for the most part, in enclaves within the city, focusing on the activities around particular houses or a church. There is little concept of an inclusive city community. In this way, the texts intimate that even within Athens, people inhabit "islands" which urbanism itself creates.

(II.305.19-20). Mr Zaharias berates contemporary politicians and parliamentarians who have disenchanted the nation (αὐτοὶ οἱ πολιτικοί, αὐτοὶ οἱ *βουλεπταί*, ἐκατάστρεψαν τὸ ἔθνος) and he looks back with nostalgia at the nation's glorious past (II.305.25-30). As the narrator observes:

> ἡ οἰκία ἔπλεεν εἰς τὸ μεταίχμιον τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ ἀβέβαιον, εἰς τὸ λυκόφως ἐκεῖνο, μεταξὺ παραδόσεως καὶ νεωτερισμοῦ (II.303.12-14).

The noun οἰκία is employed metonymically here to signify the family. At the same time, the ambiguous spatial configuration of the building, characterized as it is by numerous thresholds, becomes a metaphor for a social disjunction between traditional and progressive values.[26] Significantly too, the house is situated on the perimeter of the old town: παρὰ τὴν ἀνέρπουσαν ἐσχατιὰν τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως (II.301.6-7). Moreover, notions of architectural ambiguity recur in the characterization of the family as ἀνοικτόκαρδοι (II.303.16). As the sergeant-major observes: «Ἔμαθα ὅτι εἶναι πολὺ κοινωνικές, ὅτι ἔχουν ἀνοικτὸ σπίτι» (II.305.5-6). Immediately afterwards, Mrs Zacharias points at the view of the expanding city through the window: Ἔχουμε ἀπὸ δῶ κύριε ἀνθυπασπιστά, ὡραίαν *θεάν* (II.305.15). In *Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ* the changing social milieu of Athens in the 1890s is reflected in an equivocal architectural formation and particular significance is invested in shifting urban and domestic boundaries.

Ruins

Ruins of houses and churches abound in Papadiamantis' island landscape. Derelict buildings reflect broader patterns of historical change. The Kastro was abandoned in the aftermath of the 1821 war of Independence, when the old town migrated

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26.As Farinou-Malamatari has observed, the story's chief theme is the επαμφοτερισμός της μέσης αθηναϊκής οικογένειας μεταξύ παράδοσης και μοντερνισμού (1987: 179).

to the new capital. If ruins symbolize decay, they also represent the impermanent borders which society imposes on the land.

One example of the prominence given to ruins, or half-open architectural structures in Papadiamantis' fiction, is the story *Τῆς Κοκκώνας τὸ σπίτι* [1893]. The description of a dilapidated house functions here - as the title itself intimates - as the text's presiding image. Architecturally, the house is ambivalent; overtaken by nature it remains in a state of incompleteness:

> ὑψοῦτο ἀτελείωτος οἰκοδομή, μὲ τέσσερας τοίχους ὀρθοὺς μέχρι τοῦ πατώματος, μὲ τὰς ξυλώσεις χασκούσας ἕως τῆς ὀροφῆς, μὲ τὴν στέγην καταρρέουσαν, μὲ φαιοὺς καὶ φθειρομένους τοὺς τοίχους, τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις, ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ βροχὴ εἶχον καταστήσει ἐρείπιον καὶ χάλασμα. (II.641-642)

The narrator's description of the forsaken house contrasts with contending images of closure associated with the text's other houses. With their walled yards (...τὴν τοιχογυρισμένην αὐλήν...μὲ τὸν αὐλόγυρον σύρριζα εἰς τὸν βράχον II.641.9-10) and the windows fastened against the wind (ὁ ἄνεμος ἔκαμνε τὰ σφικτοκλεισμένα παράθυρα καὶ τὰς κλειδομανδαλωμένας θύρας νὰ στενάζωσιν ὑπο τὴν ψυχρὰν πνοήν του II.643.13-15), the buildings convey notions of closure, of protected space.

In reality "Kokkona's" house is not a domicile, but as the narrator observes, a σταθμός (II.645.14).[27] In fact it has never functioned as a residence and , rather than entice people in, the building's very accessibility intimidates the local population. Here then, ideas of closure assume another dimension as the narrator focuses on

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27.The term "station" is glossed by Giddens as a locale "in which the routine activities of different individuals intersect" (1989: 119); which is precisely why Paloukas chooses "Kokkona's" house.

society's efforts to circumvent or exclude the house (τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἁγίαζαν οἱ παπάδες ὅταν κατήρχοντο ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνω συνοικίαν μὲ τοὺς σταυρούς II.645.13-14). Such endeavours are undermined, however, by the house's strategic location: 'Αδύνατον νὰ μὴν ἐπερνοῦσε κανεὶς ἀπ'ἐκεῖ (II.641.1-2).

"Kokkona's" house is locked outside the accepted social peripheries because it dramatizes the imminence of death and the fragility of social relationships. It is boarded up precisely because it has been left half-finished and open. The crumbling walls and boarded entrance become emblematic of society's attempts to confine potentially disruptive forces, associated here with ghosts and with the outsider Yiannis Paloukas (see chapter 5).[28] The irony of *Τῆς Κοκκώνας τὸ σπίτι* is not only, as the narrator observes, that the house is named after someone who never lived in it (ὡς ἀόριστος τραγικὴ εἰρωνεία ἐπὶ τῆς τύχης της, ἔμενε τὸ ὄνομα «τῆς Κοκκώνας τὸ Σπίτι» (II.643.2-3), but that the house remains unoccupied. The boarding up of the house's apertures becomes a spatial metaphor for the strategies that the community evolves in the process of its own self-definition. Precisely because the house is empty it is a potentially disruptive influence. "Kokkona's" house is a tomb without a body.[29] Thus the neighbour's question when he opens the window and shouts ποιὸς εἶναι; (II.649.9) highlights the symbolic value invested in emptiness. Emptiness itself is felt by society as a presence.

A good deal of attention is given to the house's position relative to the surrounding environment. In the first place the house is designed in a style incongruous to that of the local architecture (μὲ σχέδιον κομψὸν καὶ ἀσύνηθες ἕως τότε

28.Ambiguous architectural forms, such as Siraïno's house in *Τὸ 'Ενιαύσιον θῦμα*, which has only three walls and half a roof (III.218.26-27), are reflections of marginal social existences.
29.Ruins are themselves compared to decaying human bodies and ghosts. Thus, in *'Ο 'Αβασκαμὸς τοῦ 'Αγᾶ*: Ὅμοιον μὲ νεκρικὸν κρανίον ἀρτίως ἐκταφέντος σκελετοῦ, μὲ τὰς κόγχας κενὰς ὀφθαλμῶν, μὲ τὴν μύτην φαγωμένην, φοβερὸν θέαμα, σκέλεθρον γυμνὸν καὶ παγωμένον φαντάζει ἀπὸ μακρὰν τὸ μικρὸν τζαμίον τοῦ ἐρημωμένου χωρίου (III.139.1-4)

εἰς τὴν πολίχνην II.642.24-25). The owner Capetan Yiannakos intended to import furniture from Venice, while his wife was a foreigner (II.642.20-28). The "Kokkona's" house represents an architectural deviation as much as a social one. Moreover, the text concentrates on the surrounding topography which is articulated in terms of relative distances to the building (χίλια βήματα etc...). Significantly, too, "Kokkona's" house is located in a mediating position between the upper and lower parishes. The two other dominant landmarks are the church τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Σαλονικιᾶς and Stamatrizena's house (II.641.3-5). Indeed, the house is placed between them, occupying an ambiguous, liminal ground between the secular and the sacred. It has become a repository of superstitions, the body of folk beliefs that lies outside the doctrines of the Orthodox Church. The building is the haunt of the tramp who lives on the margins of the community. In fact Yiannis Paloukas is explicitly linked to the *kallikantzari* as a thieving and disruptive individual. "Kokkona's" house is thus an anti-social, unsanctioned space, where forces which are antagonistic to society congregate in the eyes of society.

Papadiamantis' short story centres on the juxtaposition between the location and architecture of "Kokkona's" house and other contending images of inhabited spaces. Furthermore, this tension between closure and accessibility is accentuated in the text's concluding section where the boys open the door into an adjacent yard and the neighbour opens the window to inquire about the disturbance (II.649.5-10). If "Kokkona's" house stands in some symbolic relationship to society, the irony of the building's name points to the ambiguous boundary which determines what lies within and outside society; the line which separates the acceptable from the unacceptable.

Conclusion

In Papadiamantis' fiction, therefore, there is an acute attention to boundaries, zones, and architectural configurations which constitute local equivalents of national frontiers. If borders act as physical landmarks, they also serve as social perimeters within which the community, family and individual define themselves. Boundaries separate the urban from the wild, the female from the male, the healthy from the ill, the local population from outsiders. At the same time, they delineate broad divisions between secular and profane spaces and become visual, ontological perimeters.

A close analysis of such peripheral imagery demonstrates the manner in which boundaries, as they are textualized in Papadiamantis' fiction, are both affirmed and undermined. Ruins stand for an uncovering, or exposing of the house's private space, and the analogy with stripping is implicit in *Οἱ Μάγισσες* as Parthenis stands by a tumbledown building and watches the naked sorceresses perform their ritual (III.233.5-14).[30] Yet if houses are "embodiments", they are also "incarnations that threaten to become incarcerations, doubling the stakes of the precarious human condition that entraps the spirit in the corruption of the flesh and bone or wood and stone" (Chandler 1991: 6). Finally, rituals associated with the domestic sphere are externalized in Papadiamantis' fiction. An example is that of eating which frequently takes place out of doors. Papadiamantis' protagonists, like the eccentric citizens of Tarascon (Daudet 1989: 27), "carry articles from home along with them and perform rituals that confirm the feeling of home as a temporary abode" (Porteous 1976: 387).

In an "age when the home was celebrated as never before" (Trodd 1989: 5), Papadiamantis' texts offer opposing interpretations of the house: on the one hand the innocent

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30.For clothes and architecture as "vehicles of embodiment", see Herzfeld (1991: 80).

occupants strive to seal themselves off from hostile encounters outside; on the other hand, the culpable home which is the scene of crime requires to be exposed.[31] In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the grandmother, traditionally the guardian of domestic values, turns into the criminal angel of the hearth. Throughout Papadiamantis' fiction, the house is invaded and evaded, just as Skevo dresses up as a man and crosses over into a masculine space. Similarly, in numerous stories boundaries are themselves contested and incite hostility. Thus, Frangoyannou inherits a plot of land which is disputed by other claimants, including a monastery, while in *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* two shepherds fight over the partition of territory (II.537-538).

As a half-open, indeterminate structure, the ruin exemplifies the ambiguity of boundaries, while in particular, the dilapidated churches intimate the interaction, and indeed interpenetration, of secular and the profane spaces; of culture and nature. At a time when the public sphere was increasingly extending its influence into the private sphere (cf. Sant Cassia 1992),[32] Papadiamantis' fiction explores the irreconcilability of these contending claims, demonstrating in the process how social tensions are mediated through bounded territories.

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31. Harriet Beecher Stowe's (1811-1896) best-selling protest novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* [1853] is an example of the nineteenth-century celebration of the "democratic values" of the home. As Chandler observes, Stowe's novel "deliberately uses dwellings as tropes for social categories and her book intensified the debate about the American home" (1992: 17). There may, in fact, be echoes of Stowe's cabin in the numerous καλύβες found in Papadiamantis' fiction; such as Barba Louka's shady καλύβα in *Ὀλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη*.

32. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* this is evident in the description of the policemen breaking into the home. For the general preoccupation with policemen and the encroaching prerogative of the state within the domestic milieu, see Trodd (1989: 12-44).

5

THE DISPOSSESSED: OUTCASTS, WANDERERS AND CHILDREN

Liminal Space and the Bestial Other

Foregoing chapters in the thesis have demonstrated the extent to which Papadiamantis' texts engage with specific landscapes; with the social boundaries that separate the rural from the urban, the secular from the religious, as well as with property relations and the multiple social significances invested in homes. Landscapes in the short stories are shown to be inextricably bound up in the social, political and cultural networks of a society. They are both reflective and formative, shaped by and themselves shaping broader social and cultural processes. At the same time, the engagement of the literary text with non-verbal behaviour, architecture and landscape, can be characterized as intertextual since architecture and landscape, no less than the literary text, evince semiological properties (cf. Moore 1986: 73-90).

The textual characteristics of landscape are emphasized in the stories by the interpretive dimension of landscape and by the protagonists' endeavours figuratively to read, or decode, the landscape. In the earlier chapters of the present study attention has been paid to analogies of reading, writing and iconography which are applied to the landscape, as well as to the persistent preoccupation with sight. More specifically, Chapter 4 has focused on the different boundaries which divide the landscape into contending zones, demonstrating the manner in which such spatial configurations relate to the construction of social identity. An attempt has also been made to show how landscapes are destabilized when their boundaries are transgressed, thereby highlighting the contingency of the

norms and conventions which such boundaries secure. In Papadiamantis's fiction, frontiers constitute both an "opening and a closing". All frontiers, "including the frontier of nations, are, at the same time as they are barriers, places of communication and exchange. They are the place of dissociation and association, of separation and articulation".[1]

In the present chapter attention focuses on the homeless and landless in Papadiamantis' texts, on the numerous vagrants, orphans and other deviant protagonists who remain ostracized from the community, sustaining what Jean Baudrillard calls "a folklore of excommunication" (1993: 126). These wanderers are eccentric in the radical etymological sense of that word, living outside the precincts of the domesticated circle. Although they are inhabitants of the state's enclosed territory, Papadiamantis' texts explore the ways in which their peripheral existence sheds light on the pervasive metaphors of exclusion and inclusion which the nation-state, as an "interpretive community", both perpetuates and controls (cf. Fish 1980). Sometimes the vagrants are marginal characters in the narrative, like the sreet urchins and beggars who congregate in the public square at the beginning of *Ἡ Ψυχοκόρη* [1925] (IV.609.6-8), or the νέφος of children in *Ἅγια καὶ πεθαμένα* which swarms around the church to steal the *kolliva* (III.124-126).

Papadiamantis' texts foreground these disaffiliated protagonists who range from the wayfaring narrator himself to gypsies, pedlars, street urchins, emigrants from outside and inside Greece, the seasonal migration of harvesters, mendicant monks, paupers, dispossessed orphans, brigands, vagabonds and young men, like the impoverished student in *Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιὰ*, living a bohemian city existence.[2]

1.Edgar Morin, quoted in Bennington (1990: 121).
2.Vitti notes that Puccini's *La Bohème* [1896] was performed in Athens in 1899. Henri Murger's *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* had also been translated by Roïdis. For a time Papadiamantis, like Hatzopoulos, signed his stories with

These protagonists share a marginal, transitional space as they wander between zones. Similarly, as Douglas has pointed out, childhood itself represents a comparable "marginal phase"; one which is associated with danger, since "transition is neither one state or the next, it is undefinable".[3]

Liminality is thus the common ground linking Papadiamantis' rootless protagonists, vagrants and children. The term "homelessness" here implies the cessation, or at least the "attenuation of bonds that link persons to a network of interconnected social structures".[4] So numerous are these disaffiliated protagonists in Papadiamantis, that it is possible to speak of a vagrant underworld in his fiction. To a certain extent this interest in the seedy existence of such marginal characters, reflects a general nineteenth century literary preoccupation with low life, as evinced in the writings of Dickens, Zola and Dostoevsky (cf. Agras 1979: 158, Kotzias 1992: 36-37). Moreover, the contemporary public concern for vagrants both in Britain and in Greece is attested by the activities of proliferating philanthropic societies which were established during this time, such as Ἡ Περίθαλψις which was founded in 1896 and in 1905 became the Ἄσυλον τῶν Ἀστέγων (cf. Calligas 1990: 234).

As opposed to the sedentary citizens, the homeless in Papadiamantis' stories often inhabit the empty tracts of land or *terrains vagues* beyond settlement. They are closely associated with ruins and other locations which convey concepts of liminality; frequenting "places which are avoided by members of the dominant society because they

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the pseudonym Μποέμ (Vitti 1978: 275). See also Valetas who characterizes the bohemian as a homeless wanderer and equates him with the dervish of the short story *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* (1955: 217).

3. Douglas is explicitly engaging, here, with Van Gennep's hypothesis of the marginal state and its relationship to "rites of passage" [1908]. For further discussion of this notion of the liminal period, see Turner (1967: 93-111).

4. Theodore Caplow et al., quoted in Bahr (1970: 41).

appear threatening" (Sibley 1992: 112). Vagrants are linked with ghosts and εξωτικά, the word itself reflecting ideas of spatial exclusion. They are often described as παράδοξος, an adjective that aptly conveys their foreignness. Both the wanderers and the εξωτικά dwell outside the protected circle of the village (cf. Stewart 1991: 167). Sometimes, as in the case of Angoutsas in *Ἡ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα*, they roam the island scavenging and odd-jobbing:

Ὁ Ἀγκούτσας δὲν ἦτο ἰδιοκτήτης ποιμνίων, οὔτε γεωργός, οὔτε κἂν βοσκός, οὔτε οἰκίαν εἶχεν, οὔτε φαμιλιάν, τίποτε. Ἦτο πλάνης, ἄστεγος. Πότε ἐδούλευε μὲ ἡμεροκάματον σιμὰ εἰς τοὺς κολλήγας, τοὺς καλλιεργητάς, πότε ἔμβαινε παραγυιὸς εἰς τοὺς βοσκοὺς διὰ νὰ φυλάγῃ τὰς αἶγας. Τὸν περισσότερον καιρὸν ἐγύριζεν ἀπὸ μάνδραν εἰς μάνδραν, ἀπὸ καλύβι εἰς καλύβι, ἀπὸ κατάμερον εἰς κατάμερον, χωρὶς ἐργασίαν, καὶ τοῦ ἔδιδαν οἱ ποιμένες ξινόγαλα κ'ἔτρωγε.(III.84.16-22).

The wanderer (πλάνης) here is equated with homelessness, and is explicitly contrasted to property owners. He is further distinguished from the social community by particularities of speech, dress and social usage.

If Papadiamantis' vagrants are estranged from society and hostile to its canons, often they inhabit the ἐρημικὰ μέρη (III.305.6) or physical wilderness outside the town[5] and they frequently represent a social threat: waylaying, thieving and abducting villagers in the manner of devilish καλλικάντζαροι. There is a close connection here between vagrants and the various malevolent (although sometimes benevolent) εξωτικά which "cluster around marginal areas of the physical environment" (Stewart 1991: xv). The dispossessed in Papadiamantis are from this perspective metaphorically possessed and like the εξωτικά they are often

5.The noun ερημιά in Greek signifies both solitude and wilderness.

described as αλλόκοτος and are associated with haunted places.[6]

Vagrants are monstrous, combining animal and human features and they are represented by symbolic bodily inversions (cf. Stewart 1991: 180). The ambition of the homeless boy Tsilotatos who leads a gang of street urchins in *Γουτοῦ Γουπατοῦ*, for example, is to become like one of the legendary monsters (τὰ θεριά) which lurk around the fountain, preventing the women from drawing water unless the ransom of a young girl is offered them (III.187.5-9). Similarly, the mountain-dweller in *Θέρος-Ἔρος*, like Angoutsas in *Ἡ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα*, is described as a λυκάνθρωπος (II.200.12); the wolf being a traditional symbol of voracity and evil (e.g. Matthew 7:15). The popular nickname for the herdsman in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* who is unable to articulate human speech, but grunts like an animal, is 'Αγρίμης which means both wild beast and metaphorically an unsociable or rude person (II.200.27). Finally, the drunken tramp Yiannis Paloukas in *Τῆς Κοκκώνας τὸ σπίτι* disguises himself as a καλλικάντζαρος to steal from children (II.645.15)[7] and the protagonist in *Ὁ 'Αλιβάνιστος* is repeatedly likened to a shadow gliding over the landscape (III.526.28-29, 527.15-160). Indeed, Kolias is implicitly associated with the supernatural:

> - Ποιὸν ηὗρες; εἶπεν ἡ 'Αφέντρα. Τὸν Μπαμπάο, ἢ τὸν 'Αράπη, ἢ τὸν 'Εξαποδῶ;
> - Ηὗρα τὸν 'Αλιβάνιστο!
> (III.524.15-16)

6.There is a taxonomic ambiguity in Papadiamantis' texts where various supernatural beings are used interchangeably. N.D. Triantafillopoulos notes, however, that in *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, some distinction seems to be made by the narrator between κρούσματα, στοιχειά and φαντάσματα (III.714).

7.The relationship between the *kallikantzari* and children in Greek folk narratives is discussed by the Blums: "Among some narratives, especially those dealing with the kallikantzari, one detects their use as a vehicle for the expression of sympathetic acting-out of childhood impulses, notions and fantasies. The little kallikantzari, whatever they are, perpetrate indeed the very things that children would like to do and learn they must not" (1970: 232).

The shadowy, ghostly, characteristics of the outsiders in Papadiamantis' texts are repeatedly stressed. In *Τὰ Βενέτικα* [1912], for example, the narrator declares that as it is Sunday the countryside is completely deserted except for the occasional distant and fleeting shadow of a shepherd (IV.434-435) or a shepherd child who appears out of the landscape like a ζωντανὸν σκιάχτρον (IV.435.3). There is a latent pun in this context between the noun σκιά meaning shadow and in popular speech ghost, spectre or bogie, and the masculine σκιάς, which signifies a malefactor or felon (cf. Andriotis 1983: 327). This last sense is employed by the narrator of the vagrant gang leader Tsilotatos in *Γουτοῦ Γουπατοῦ* (III.186.28) and of Frangoyannou's deliquent son Mouros in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*:

> Ἦτο σκιὰς τῆς γειτονιᾶς, ὁ σημαιοφόρος ὅλων τῶν μαγκῶν, καὶ εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς ὁρισμούς του ὅλους τοὺς ἀγυιόπαιδας, ὅλα τὰ ξυπόλυτα τοῦ δρόμου (III.436.25-27).

As Stewart has observed, "the monstrous is an appropriate subversion of whatever the society holds to be aesthetic" and as the connotations of the word καλό indicate, there is an inextricable relationship between aesthetic form and moral value in Greek (1991: 181). If καλλικάντζαροι are often portrayed as crippled and deformed, Papadiamantis' orphans and vagrants, like Manolios the protagonist of *Γουτοῦ Γουπατοῦ*, are similarly crippled, thereby contrasting to the virtuous who are well-formed.

Many of the outsiders in Papadiamantis' texts are goat-herds who dwell in remote huts on the mountainside, goats being popularly associated with evil and the devil (cf. Stewart 1991: 182). After she has been flushed out by the law, Frangoyannou makes for the wilderness where she seeks shelter with the goat-herds.[8] Like many other outcasts,

8. The repeated use of the noun άσυλο for shelter or refuge, discussed briefly in the previous chapter, is relevant here since at the time it was being applied to newly founded institutions for the homeless poor.

Papadiamantis' murderess is associated with ghosts (III.499.17) and haunted places (III.495.18). Moreover, Frangoyannou's speech, like that of the mountain dwellers', is idiosyncratic and indeed, in Papadiamantis' texts physical exteriority extends to linguistic alienation. Outsiders are often characterized by their inarticulateness and pronounced idiolects. Thus, in *Ὁ Αλιβάνιστος* Kiolas' withrawal from society finds an equivalent in Aunt Molota's idiosyncratic speech; a fact underlined by her refusal to enter the church to celebrate the liturgy on account of Kolias' presence. Instead, Molota hovers on the threshold of the church door, her exclusion connecting her both to Kolias and to the devil who is known by the name Ἐξαποδῶ:

> Τότε ἡ Μολώτα ἔμεινεν ἀπ' ἔξω, μισοκρυμμένη εἰς τὸν παραστάτην τῆς θύρας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ κοιτάζουσα λαθραίως μέσα (III.529.11-12).

Because they are muted, the outsiders often remain partly invisible and thus ghost-like (cf. Sibley 1992: 112).[9]

On the one hand the very marginality of wanderers and outcasts confirms the authority invested in the boundaries which secure social norms and conventions. The homeless offer a symbolic inversion of the social and religious practices embodied in the home and church (see previous chapter). In *Ἡ Στοιχειωμένη καμάρα*, for example, Aretoula's father tries to ruin his daughter's reputation by implicating her with a passing pedlar: ἦτο ἁπλῶς διαβάτης καὶ ξένος γυρολόγος, καὶ τυχαίως διήρχετο ἀπὸ τὴν γειτονιάν (III.638.22-23). Wanderers here threaten the moral codes

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9.Douglas notes the relationship between marginality, inarticulateness and formlessness (all characteristics associated with ghosts) and adds: "So many ideas about power are based on an idea of society as a series of forms contrasted with surrounding non-form. There is power in the froms and other power in the inarticulate area, margins, confused lines, and beyond the external boundaries" (1991: 98). Malota's marginality, and specifically the detail of her semi-concealment, connect her to numerous other female protagonists in Papadiamantis, such as Hristina in *Χωρὶς στεφάνι* (see Chapter 4).

governing social relations. Kolias' nickname in *Ὁ Αλιβάνιστος* (like Stamatis' surname Ateriastos - or the Misfit - in *Τὰ Ρόδιν'ἀκρογιάλια*) defines the protagonist by an inverse relation to the sacrament of communion. At the same time vagrants, even though they might be physically excluded, are nevertheless incorporated within the moral imagination of the community in the same way as the supernatural beings which cluster around the peripheries of the physical environment belong to a wider moral geography (cf. Stewart 1991). It is precisely this sense of social exclusion and imagined inclusion that the narrator explores in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* when he notes, for example, that Mati stared at the mountain-dweller ἁπλήστως, ὡς παράδοξον φαινόμενον, ὁποῖον ποτὲ δέν ἐφαντάσθη (II.201.10-11).

As Lionel Rose has observed in his analyis of vagrancy in Britain, the Victorians and Edwardians celebrated the freedom and autonomy of vagrants in sentimentalized literature at the same time as they regarded tramps with fear, loathing and moral condemnation (1988: 106-107). In their freedom vagrants threaten the property rights of landowners across whose land they roam. A similar ambiguity surrounds the representation of vagrants in Papadiamantis. The homeless are associated on the one hand with drunkenness, debauchery and neglect of children, and on the other with freedom, humour, music and revelry. In *Θέρος-Ἔρος*, the mountain-dweller's crude bestial behaviour and libidinous urges are juxtaposed to bucolic descriptions of pastoral harmony, while Mati's contradictory responses convey both fascination and repulsion:

> Ἡ νέα ἐξηκολούθει νὰ τὸν κοιτάζῃ, πλέουσα μεταξὺ περιεργείας καὶ οἴκτου...Σχεδὸν εἶχε παύσει νὰ φοβῆται. Τὸ βλέμμα του τὸ ἐσβεσμένον ἔλεον μᾶλλον ἐνέπνεε (II.201.4-8).

As the previous chapter has sought to demonstrate, social boundaries - as they are textualized in Papadiamantis'

fiction - are not impervious. On the contrary, they are repeatedly violated by outsiders who expose insiders to threats and thereby question both their own exteriority and the exclusivity and legitimacy of the social perimeters. In their solitude Papadiamantis' wanderers question the authority and integrity of the family institution, just as their rootless existence undermines formal claims to property ownership. In *Ἡ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα*, for example, the landless Angoutsas tries to persuade Stathis that he should go down to retrieve the stranded goats, since Stathis has a wife and children (ἔεις γ'ναῖκα καὶ πιδιά III.85.18). The homeless Angoutsas is here juxtaposed, and indeed attempts to exploit, his position as an outsider.[10] Often too, Papadiamantis' drifters parody social behaviour, exposing it to potentially subversive ridicule. Finally, if the narratives, like that of *Ὁ Αλιβάνιστος* or *Ἡ Γλυκοφιλούσα* work towards the inclusion of outsiders, often the texts accentuate their exclusion.[11] Sakellarios, the homeless (ἄστεγος IV.631.12) and wandering protagonist of *Ὁ Αὐτοκτόνος* [1954], for example, is driven to suicide.

In numerous Papadiamantis texts, such as *Οἱ Κουκοπαντρειές* [1903], the focus is on the social existence of the urban poor, where the line between home and homelessness, lawfulness and criminality is blurred. This is an environment of shabby tenements and temporary lodgings, where familial violence, petty crimes and illicit affairs are the order of the day. By focusing on the ambiguity of

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10.As an outsider, Barba Yiannios in *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* is similarly juxtaposed against his neighbour's model family which includes a husband, four children and a donkey (III.108-109). Barba Yiannios' death under a blanket of snow recalls the passage from *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον* where the narrator compares the snow to λευκὰ σινδόνια which God is spreading διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀστέγους, εἰς τὴν ὁδόν (II.243.33-34).

11.In *Ὁ Αλιβάνιστος* a parallel is drawn between Papa Garofalos who loses his way but manages to find the right path to the church and Kolias who comes back to the church community from the wilderness. As Herzfeld expresses it in the context of the Glendiots' entry into the church square, Kolias' entrance into the chapel represents "a symbolic affirmation of [his] membership in the community with all that this entails" (1988: 66)

the divide between inclusion and exclusion, texts such as *Οἱ Κουκοπαντρειές* both highlight the precariousness of social boundaries and explore the means by which conventions and norms are territorialized and secured within perimeters. Deviant behaviour demarcates the edges of the community thereby exposing the framework within which its members construct a sense of their own cultural identity. As Porteous remarks, home cannot be understood without homelessness, just as home defines itself in relation to journey (1976: 387).[12]

Wanderers

The protagonists of Papadiamantis' texts, such as the Corfiot Barba-Pipis in *Πάσχα Ρωμέικο*, or Yiannis in *'Ο 'Αειπλάνητος*, are often restless drifters.[13] The narrator in many of the texts is a rambler who strolls around Athens, or, alternatively, roams across an island landscape. Ἤμην πάντοτε τακτικὸς περιπατητής, asserts the narrator in *'Εξοχικὸν κρουσμα* [1906] (IV.127.1), while in *'Η Φαρμακολύτρια* the protagonist is a wanderer who is literally and figuratively bewildered in the wilderness, as he camps down for the night in the peasant Yiannis' hut and spends another night in a dilapidated church.[14]

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12. Concepts of liminality and of the antimonies home/homelessness are pervasive preoccupations in modern Greek ritual and are explored in some depth by Blum and Blum (1970) and Alexiou (1974).

13. In a review published in 1899, Palamas characterized Papadiamantis' stories, which had not appeared in book form, as νομαδικὰ καὶ ἄστεγα, adjectives which could be aptly used to describe many of the protagonists portrayed in Papadiamantis' texts (1979: 35). On the "homelessness" of the nineteenth century novel, see McLaughlin (1992: 75). The wandering spectator, or *flâneur*, is a conspicuous figure in nineteenth-century literature. See, in this context, the discussion by Brand who construes *flânerie* as an attempt to come to grips with modernity as embodied in the discontinuous, rapidly changing life of the city (1991).

14. In his analysis of onomastic connotations in *'Η Φαρμακολύτρια*, Saunier omits any mention of Stoyios (1989/90). This is an important omission, since the name puns on the noun for son (γιός), thereby linking the protagonist with Mahoula's unmarried and wandering son.

In *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* the protagonist plays truant from school (δραπετεύσαντα ἅμα τῇ ἐνάρξει μαθημάτων III.307.1) to roam the wilderness of the island (τὰ ἐρημικὰ ἐκεῖνα μέρη III.305.6) and stays all night out in the open (εἶχον διέλθει ὅλην σχεδὸν τὴν νύκτα τοῦ Μαρτίου ἐκείνην εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον III.310.14-15). When his cousin Mahoula meets him she expresses surprise, as if she had seen a ghost, since he has strayed into a territory she regards as her own:

> Ἐθεώρει τὴν ἐξοχὴν ἐκείνην ὡς γειτονίαν ἰδικήν της, καὶ δι'αὐτὸ ἔλεγε· «Ποῦ σ'αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμο» (III.310.30-32).

The exclamation ποῦ σ'αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμο underlines both the reader's uncertainty about the wanderer's destination and questions the narrator's relationship to the landscape he is traversing.

There is also an emphasis on walking as a physical process in the narrative, the narrator noting the arduous hilly terrain of the landscape through which he climbs hastily and gasping for breath (III.308.16-17).[15] At first the narrator is unable to make out the overgrown path in the darkness (III.308.12-13) and there is an acute attention to the sound of the rushing torrent in the ravine below (III.308.6-11).[16] Walking here, however, is implicitly linked with artistic labour and improvisation, while it results in a state of hightened perception and vision, as the narrator is confronted by the symbolic silhouette of a pine tree blazing in the moonlight (III.308.20).[17] Walking is an

15.The insistence on walking as opposed to riding is conspicuous in *Ἡ Πεποικιλμένη*. While the narrator asserts repeatedly that he has set out for the church at Kehria on foot, he remarks *à propos* riding: ἐγὼ δὲν συνηθίζω ποτὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰς τὴν μικρὰν νῆσόν μου (IV.338.6).
16.Walking, or wandering, often takes place at night-time in Papadiamantis which, as Giddens has remarked, is "a 'frontier' of social activity as marked as any spatial frontiers have ever been. It remains a frontier, as it were, that is only sparsely settled" (1989: 17).
17.There is a connection here between the two senses of the word πεζός, meaning on foot and in prose - a pun employed by Palamas in his *Πεζοί Δρόμοι* [1923]. The narrator's walking

interpretive act, not merely a physical one. The final destination of the narrator's peregrination is the chapel where he witnesses the miraculous apparition of the saint.

In the opening paragraph of *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* the narrator intimates that for him walking is a recollective act: ἠσθανόμην τὴν ἀνάγκην ν'ἀναζωπυρήσω ἀρχαίας ἀναμνήσεις (III.305.4-5).[18] The protagonist's pilgrimage (προσκύνησιν III.305.4) is a retracing of the past. It is also, implicitly, a therapeutic activity, since the narrator openly acknowledges that he is driven by a passion (ἀλλ' ἠλαυνόμην ἀπὸ τὸ πάθος III.305.3-4) which his excursion alieviates. If the narrator roams aimlessly across the island (ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπλανώμην εἰς τὰ ρεύματα καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλούς III.312.27), he instinctively heads for the church: Τὰ βήματά μου μ'ἔφεραν καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ναΐσκον τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας (III.312-313). The repetition of the adverb πάλιν, which occurs in the text's first line, underlines the repetitive, circular nature of the narrator's walk, while the narrative of *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* is structured around the narrator's repetitive tracing of footpaths (see Chapter 4).[19] As Anne Wallace has remarked in her account of the origins and uses of the peripatetic in the nineteenth-century, "walking becomes a crucial metaphoric narrative structure" (1993: 1). In *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* walking is a reconciliatory and connective activity and the text explores the reciprocity between the spaces which the protagonist walks through and the

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gives rise to prose. For a discussion of the homology between verbal figures and walking rhetorics, see de Certeau (1988: 100-102).

18.There is a verbal association in this context between the narrator's memories (ἀρχαίας ἀναμνήσεις) and the "ancient" remains of the temple by the church (III.305.5).

19.This notion of circularity is conveyed by the periodic repetition of details. Thus, the narrator's statement concerning Mahoula's magic that τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφαίνετο παράξενον (III.306.31), is echoed when he believes that he sees a strange πράγμα outside the chapel (III.313.26). Mahoula's ritual encircling of the chapel also underlines the text's cyclical rhythms. Ideas of the circular walk are most clearly expressed - as the title itself indicates - in the story *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη*.

contending spaces which he fabricates in his memory (cf. Tanner 1987: 209). Retracing the half-overgrown footpaths (see Chapter 4) which lead to the dilapidated church effects a reconciliation between the past and present, life and death, linearity and circularity.

While walking is thus associated with creativity and reconciliation, Papadiamantis' wandering narrator is often alienated from the landscape through which he moves. As earlier discussions of *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* (see Chapter 3) have demonstrated, the environment remains inscrutable, withholding its secrets from him. This failure of the rootless walker to engage with his surroundings is developed in *Νεκράνθεμα*.[20] Here, the protagonist embarks on a cross-country trek of the island, journeying from the village to the church of St.John, to Sarris' garden and up to Kefala. Later he leaves Sarris' garden, via the village, to the monastery of the Virgin Kounistra in the West. These excursions are undertaken largely as a result of promises that he has made to his cousins Kostakis and Foulio, as well as to his family (IV.573.17-20, 575.14-16, 577.25-33). Finally, the story concludes with the protagonist, who has now returned to Athens, receiving the news that Foulio has died in childbirth. A few days later he learns that his brother has also died (IV.578.19-26). These deaths are - the text intimates - inextricably bound up with the protagonist's expeditions on the island, since his promises to Foulio and to his brother were, in part, the reasons for his πεζοπορία (IV.575.14).

In contrast to the protagonist's anxieties about his time constraints, and about his need to conserve energy for his

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20.The figurative and literal notions of rootlessness are developed in *Ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν δρῦν*, where the exiled or uprooted narrator returns to the scene of his childhood escapade to find the majestic oak has been felled. Alexiou notes the rich tree symbolism in Greek ritual and the lament for trees which are symbolic of Man. She also points to the identification of the dead man with an uprooted tree in the Homeric tradition, as well as the conflation of root and fate in the noun ριζικὸ (1974: 198-201). See also Peckham (In Press c).

walks (IV.575.13), the portrait of Yeoryios Sarris, the gardener, offers an example of creative engagment with the landscape. Like Yiannios' garden in *Ἡ Μαυρομανηλού*, Sarris' fenced plot is a model of fecundity. Ringed by lime trees and maple trees, it is evoked as a paradisal setting of lush flora and abundant water (IV.573-574). Above all, the narrator stresses Sarris' labour in cultivating the ground. The garden reflects both Sarris' industry (φιλοπονίαν), as well as τὴν ἀγνότητα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ Γιώργη (IV.574.5). Emphasis is placed, not only on the gardener's toil, but also on the commensurate resistance which he encounters. Thus, his mattock sends sparks flying as it strikes the stones (IV.574.7-8), while the gleaming drops of perspiration on his body resemble pearls (IV,574.10). In short, Sarris' fruitful engagement with the landscape is implicitly pitted against the narrator's frantic jaunts. Walking becomes a postponement of action, and for the narrator, the landscape is an obstacle that encumbers his encounters with others. The narrator's desperate endeavours to meet up with his family and friends in a celebratory act of communion is undermined by his own rootlessness.

On one level, the fraught wanderings of the city-dwelling narrator parody the perpetual movements upon which the nation-state depends for its cohesion. As Maria Sinarelli has observed, movement is one of the defining characteristics of modernity, which is intimately connected to the evolution of the state (see Chapter 1):

> ἡ ἰδέα..τῆς κίνησης, εἶναι καταρχήν μοντέρνα, εἶναι ὅμως καί μιά «δάνεια» ἰδέα πού υἱοθετεῖ τό ἑλληνικό κράτος τή στιγμή τῆς συγκρότησής του καί σέ ὅλη τή διάρκεια τοῦ 19ου αἰώνα (1989: 26).

In contrast to the alienated wanderer, Sarris' solitary physical labour becomes a source of fraternity, and his

success an inverted image of the narrator's futile perigrinations. As the title *Νεκράνθεμα εἰς τὴν μνήμην των* indicates, the story itself stands as the exiled narrator's elegy to the dead. Sarris, on the other hand, commemorates his dead through the fruit of his labour:

> Ἔτρεφεν οἰκογένειαν, ἔδιδεν εἰς ἐλέη, ἐφίλευε τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς διαβάτας ἀπὸ τὰ προϊόντα τῶν μόχθων του, ἐπετέλει ἱερουργίας καὶ μνημόσυνα διὰ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν νεκρῶν του, κ'ἐστόλιζεν ὡς μικροὺς παραδείσους ὅλους τοὺς χέρσους ἀγρούς, ὅσους ἀπέκτα μὲ τὸν κόπον του (IV.574.13-16).

If the alienated, roving narrator represents one sort of outsider, there are numerous categories of outcast wanderers in Papadiamantis' fiction. Firstly there are the physically or mentally abnormal, like Yiannis in *Τὸ Χριστὸς 'Ανέστη τοῦ Γιάννη*, who are rejected from social institutions such as the army. Then there are those who are socially excluded for religious reasons like Hristina in *Χωρὶς στεφάνι* or the Egyptian maid in *Ἔρμη στὰ ξένα* who is forbidden burial in the public cemetery (IV.83). In *Γιὰ τὴν περηφάνια*, Nikos sleeps under church porches, or on the beach, like the revelers in *Τρελὴ βραδιὰ*, or Zahos the bouzouki player in *Στρίγλα μάννα* [1902] who does not come home at night but sleeps in small taverns and in the open air to escape from his nagging mother (III.394.5-7). Similarly, Manos in *Ἄνθος τοῦ Γιαλοῦ* sleeps out of doors on the deck of his ship which is moored below a ruined house (IV.151), and the drunken youth in *Κοινωνικὴ ἁρμονία* does odd jobs and sleeps a night in the road, where he is fleeced of his clothes by thieves (IV.140.10-14). The protagonist of *'Ο 'Αλιβάνιστος* has retired to a secluded mountain cave because he was thwarted in a love affair, while the anonymous monk-like itinerant in *'Η Χήρα τοῦ Νεομάρτυρος* [1905] wanders the road in penance. There is also the mendicant monk (πλάνητα μοναχόν) Ioakim who makes his appearance in

Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου (III.620.30) and the roving fortune-teller who dupes the credulous women in *Οἱ Παραπονεμένες* [1899].

Vagrancy, like homelessness, is frequently the concomitant of poverty. Thus, Aunt Ahtitsa in *Ἡ Σταχομαζώχτρα* is forced to migrate in search of seasonal harvest work (II.116.22-35) like many other Christian and Muslim workers who migrate to Northern Greece (IV.545.10-11). Finally, there are those eccentric protagonists without family affiliations who are prompted by a wanderlust, such as the peripatetic Kapetan Markos in *Ἄλλος τύπος*,

> to roam around the country sleeping εἰς μικρὰ καφενεῖα κ'εἰς ταβέρνες (III.596.3-4).

In numerous stories the outcast protagonists are male and are associated with inebriety. If the gypsies in *Ἡ Ἄκληρη* get drunk, so do the protagonists in *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια*, *Τα Χριστούγεννα τοῦ τεμπέλη*, *Πατέρα στὸ σπίτι!*, *Τρελὴ βραδιὰ* and *Μικρὰ ψυχολογία*.[21]

Perhaps the best known vagrant in Papadiamantis is the wandering anonymous musician in *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* who is described by the narrator as ἄστεγος, ἀνέστιος, φερέοικος (III.113.4, 115.23). Significantly, the phrase αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος εἶναι σφαῖρα καὶ γυρίζει (III.112.14) which the mendicant utters recurs in the story *Γιὰ τὴν περηφάνια*, where the protagonist Nikos is similarly ἄστεγος (III.207.19). Like many of Papadiamantis' homeless protagonists, the dervish is likened to a ghost (κάθε ἄλλος θὰ τὸν ἐξελάμβανεν ὡς φάντασμα III.112.4-5) and if the noun δερβίσης means a religious mendicant, it also carries connotations of beggary.[22]

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21. Inebriety in Papadiamantis, however, is by no means only confined to men. See, for example, the short story *Γυνὴ πλέουσα* (IV.19-36).

22. In *Ὁ Αὐτοκτόνος* the noun ντερβίσης (IV.630.26) is used metaphorically (and in a nationalist context) to signify a courageous individual. Farinou-Malamatari has discussed the evident dependence of *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* on Papadiamantis' article *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ὡς Ἀνατολικὴ Πόλις* where the refugees are similarly likened to ghosts (1987: 73-74). Perhaps another model for Papadiamantis' dervish is to be

In *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης*, the wandering Turk is associated with movement and instability. In the first line, the narrator compares drops of water which are falling from a gutter with the regular steps of a watchman on board the deck of a ship. Like the dervish who is wrapped in his shawl (τυλιγμένος μὲ σάλι III.111.20), the watchman is wrapped in a thick overcoat (τυλιγμένος εἰς τὴν καπόταν του III.111.4). Furthermore, the wandering of the dervish is reflected structurally in the impressionistic, meandering narrative shape of the story, which is divided into ten separate sections.

The extended metaphorical dimension of the dervish is hinted at by his anonymity - he is referred to repeatedly as ἄνθρωπος (III.111.20, 112.4, 113.10) - and by the narrator's insistent questioning of his identity (III.112-7-14). At the same time, parallels are developed with Christ, as the archetypal dispossessed wanderer. In the first section the narrator alludes to the three crows of the cock (III.111.7), while in the eighth section he puns on the dervish's musical instrument (νάϊ) and the yes (ναί) uttered by Christ in Luke 11:20.[23] Finally the dervish's descent and ascent from the tunnel (ἐπάνω and κάτω κόσμος) suggest the Resurrection.

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found in Achilleus Paraschos' poem *Ὁ Δερβήσης τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* in which the protagonist is an αλλόκοτος Turkish dervish. The poem was published in *Εστία* (no.470, January 1885, pp.4-8). Papadiamantis alludes to Paraschos' "romantic verse" in *Τὰ Ρόδιν' ἀκρογιάλια* (IV.289.3).

23.The playing of musical instruments in Papadiamantis is often an accomplishment of the outsider. See, for example, Angortzas who plays the bagpipes (γκάιντα) in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* (II.638-639), Zahos the persecuted bouzouki player in *Στρίγλα μάννα*, the impoverished Τουρκομερίτης lute player in *Ὁ Γείτονας μὲ τὸ λαγοῦτο* - not to mention Alexandros the cantor in *Τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ* and Filaretos the violinist in *Ὁ Πανδρολόγος* (III.377.23). As Lambros Kamberidis also demonstrates, music in Papadiamantis' texts is inextricably bound up with the sounds produced by the natural world (1981: 209-211); a "world" with which Papadiamantis' outsiders are further linked.

In *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης*, the homeless and peripetetic existence of the dervish is juxtaposed to the official world of restricted and formal movement, which is governed by laws. Similarly, the roofless and drifting dervish contrasts to the permanence and immobility of the Theseion with its solid roof: Τὰ βαρέα τείχη καὶ οἱ ὀγκώδες κίονες τοῦ Θησείου, ἡ στέγη ἡ μεγαλοβριθής (III.115.12-13). The dervish sleeps in the tunnel which is being excavated for the railway, a detail that underlines the motif of journeying.

There is an emphasis throughout the text on chance and fate. The dervish fraternizes with a λοταρτζὴς (III.112.19), while the night in which the action is set is described as πεπρωμένη (III.113.31). Moreover, as both Hiotelli (1981: 366-367) and Farinou-Malamatari (1987: 76) have suggested, the dervish can be seen as a symbol of the fickle fate of humanity (ἄστατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων), journeying towards the unknown in a hostile environment. Although the life-as-journey motif does recur in Papadiamantis' fiction and there is a connection here between the two meanings of γυρίζω to turn and to saunter, wander or loiter, *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* may also be read as an elegy for the sort of life disrupted by the mechanization of transport and of human communication.[24] In this sense, the activities of walking and wandering stand against widespread nationalizing and physical changes.[25] Like walking in *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια*, which becomes a way of affirming the local, wandering in *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* is a connective and recollective activity, linking ancient past and present, east and west. Indeed, the circular peregrinations of the protagonist in

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24.As Hiotelli remarks, the detail of the work on the railway is the only historically verifiable fact presented in the story. She estimates that the action takes place during the autumn of 1895, when the Piraeus-Theseion line was being extended to Omonia (1981: 362). Kotzias also notes that this cryptic reference to the railways is one of the few explicit mentions of public works in Papadiamantis (1992: 46-47).

25.For a discussion of the contribution of the railways to social and economic changes during this period, see Gounaris (1988).

the former text are developed in the latter story through the symbol of the turning sphere which the dervish articulates in response to the question ποῦ, σ'αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμο; - the same question which Mahoula puts to the narrator in *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* (III.310.25).[26]

Walking also connotes freedom, an idea accentuated by the allusion in the ninth section to Kostas Lepeniotis (1785-1815) the younger brother of the hero of Independence, Katsantonis (III.116.1-5). Homelessness, which here extends to nationlessness, is thus portrayed as an ideal, rather than as an unfortunate condition. It stands for ecumenism or universality, for the affirmation of a common humanity as against the tendency to separate humanity out into geographical (East/West), national (Turkish/Greek), historical (ancient/modern) and religious (Christian/Muslim) compartments. As Papadiamantis remarks in an article entitled *Ἡρωϊκός ἀντίπαλος* (published in 1897 a year after *Ὁ Ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης* and at the outbreak of war with Turkey), ὁ ἡρωισμὸς οὔτε πατρίδα, οὔτε ἐθνικότητα, οὔτε θρησκείαν ἰδιαιτέραν ἔχει (V.274.3-4).

Little Devils: Children

The previous section has demonstrated how socially marginal characters, or pariah groups, are foregrounded in Papadiamantis' fiction, where attention is paid to the attenuation of affiliative bonds linking the protagonists with the wider community. Outsiders - wanderers and the homeless - are brought to the centre and the texts explore the ways in which distinctions between inside and outside (interior and exterior) are constituted. In the present section an attempt is made to analyse the portrayal of

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26. Ironically the gloss which Hiotelli puts on this line is a paraphrase of the gloss which the narrator puts on Mahoula's exclamation in *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* (III.310.30-32): Ἀνεπτυγμένη ἡ ἐρώτηση θά ἦταν «ποῦ βρέθηκες» μέ τήν ἔννοια τοῦ «πῶς βρέθηκες, πῶς καί βρίσκεσαι σ'αὐτόν ἐδῶ τόν κόσμο ποῦ δέν εἶναι ὁ κόσμος σου, ὁ τόπος σου;» (1981: 365-365).

children in Papadiamantis' texts. If children are symbolic of continuity and provide a link between the inside world of the home and the wilderness outside, Papadiamantis' texts frequently invert these stereotypes. Just as the homeless are brought to the centre, so children are relegated to the periphery, occupying the same ambiguous marginal territory as the wanderers.[27]

The peripheral status of children is further accentuated by the fluid meaning of the noun παιδί in modern Greek which extends from early childhood to adolescence, and is even employed colloquially for adults. Many of Papadiamantis' παιδιά are adolescents and as Philippe Ariès remarked, adolescence emerged as a distinct category only at the turn of the century when "it encroached upon childhood in one direction, maturity in the other".[28] Moreover, adolescence is not a rigidly bounded classification, but remains ambiguously poised between childhood and adulthood. In this way children - and specifically adolescents - resemble other marginal beings who have been "left out in the patterning of societies", and are therefore, in some senses, placeless (Douglas 1991: 95).

In Papadiamantis' fiction adolescence, as a liminal phase, is associated with a territorial exclusion, while numerous texts underline the relativity involved in defining childhood. In *Στρίγλα μάννα*, for example, Zahos is treated by his mother as a child even though he is twenty-five years old: 'Εκεῖνος ὑπέκυπτεν εἰς τὴν θέλησίν της τὴν ὑπερτέραν, ὡς νὰ ἦτον ἀκόμη παιδίον. Καὶ ἦτον ὢς εἰκοσιπέντε ἐτῶν (III.389.17-19). At the end of the story, Zahos' confiscated bouzouki is recovered by the ten-year-old child (δεκαετὲς

27.From this perspective the ambivalent position of children in Papadiamantis' texts might be related to the exploration of the family as a symbol of national unity (see Chapter 1). Thus, in *'Ο Χορὸς εἰς τοῦ κ. Περίανδρου* [1905], the protagonist refers to Crete and Macedonia - two contested regions claimed by Greece - as his children; a rhetorical exclamation that is satirized by the other characters who take Periandrou's words at face value and call his real children War and Peace (IV.14.1-13).
28.Quoted in James (1986: 155).

παιδίον III.396.23) Alexis who sympathizes with Zahos ὅστις ἦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἓν μέγα παιδίον (III.396.25-26). A similar ambiguity between childhood and adulthood is intimated by the narrator in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* when he notes that the seventeen-year-old Mati is wearing children's clothes that she has outgrown (II.184.19-21).

Like wanderers, children are differentiated by their dress, or lack of certain articles of clothing, which, as Farinou-Malamatari comments:

> αποκρυφτογραφείται όχι ως ανέχεια, αλλά ως σήμανση της ελευθερίας στην κίνηση και της μη υπαγωγής στις συμβάσεις ενός ορισμένου είδους ενδύματος που συνεπάγεται και κοινωνική διάκριση (1987: 158).

Nevertheless, children play an important part in the narrative action, even when, as in texts such as *Ἁμαρτίας φαντάσμα*, they are peripheral to the main action. In this text, the mysterious absence of the twelve-year-old ὀρφανὸν παιδίον Stamatis who usually accompanies the women in their excursion to outlying chapels, compels the narrator to fetch water from the spring in his stead. It is there that he has his vision (III.227-228).

As Kolivas has observed, numerous texts such as *Παιδικὴ Πασχαλιά*, *or Ἡ Συντέκνισσα* [1903] focus on the orphanhood, suffering and death of children, usually female (1991: 66-67). Yet, if children are the innocent victims of fate and adult severity, they are linked to ghosts and ruins and they are repeatedly associated with violence. In *Ἡ Ξομπλιαστήρα*, a συμμορία ἀπὸ μάγκες lurk at the edge of town, pelting passers-by with stones (IV.169.14-17), just as Mouros' gang of street urchins does in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* (III.436.29-32), or the raucous youngers in *Ἡ Ψυχοκόρη*:

> Ζωηροὶ νέοι ἐθορύβουν, ἐμυκτήριζον, διεκωμῴδουν πτωχοὺς καὶ πλάνητας δυστυχεῖς, τοὺς ὁποίους ἐφαντάζοντο μωροτέρους τῶν ἑαυτῶν των (IV.609.6-8).

Like the contemporary literary interest in vagrants, the conspicuous presence of children in Papadiamantis' fiction should be viewed in the context of wider social concerns for child welfare (cf. Calligas 1990).[29] In Papadiamantis' texts children are often the chief protagonists and in numerous stories such as *Ὁ Τυφλοσύρτης* [1892], *Ωχ! Βασανάκια* [1894], *Ἡ Δασκαλομάνα* and *Τῆς Δασκάλας τὰ μάγια* [1909], the school is the main setting. In fact, attention is paid throughout Papadiamantis' fiction to the spaces associated with children: the home, the school, the road and the neighbourhood.[30]

As suggested earlier, however, Papadiamantis' fiction explores an implicit relationship between tramps, vagrants and children. If tramps are childlike in their disregards for conventions, children, like tramps, are construed as both the victims and the victimizers, while often they haunt the same peripheral locations. As Saunier has observed of the ravine into which the protagonist strays in *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης*:

> la ravine est marquée par l'enfance, liée à l'enfance: "'Αλλ'ἐκεῖ δὲν δύναται νὰ βαδίζῃ τις, ἐκτὸς ἂν εἶναι δωδεκαετὴς παῖς, καὶ ψάχνει διὰ καβούρια, τὴν ἡμέραν"...c'est exactement la scène décrite dans les "Δαιμόνια" (1992: 29).

29.For a review which focuses on the portrayal of children in Greek literature, see Patsiou (1991); and for Papadiamantis in particular, see pp. 43-56.
30.Palamas was the first critic to compare Papadiamantis' creativity to the spontaneous responses of a child (1991: 46). This interpretation, of Papadiamantis the child, recurs in critical articles. See, for example, Panayiotopoulos' introduction to a children's anthology of Papadiamantis' stories (Papadiamantis 1981). The first such children's anthology was compiled by Yeorgia Tarsouli in 1932.

In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, the narrator alludes to the Cold Spring where village children, young shepherds and shepherdesses have been "stricken" and Kambanahmakis' wife became mute (she appears as a mute in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* III.502-503). Children are thus associated with wildness, ghosts and inarticulacy.

If they are symbols of innocence (like the nine-year-old Akrivoula in *Τὸ Μυρολόγι τῆς φώκιας* or Toto in *Τραγούδια τοῦ Θεοῦ*), τὰ μαγκόπαιδα frequently prey on society's weaknesses. In *Κοινωνικὴ ἁρμονία*, for example, the narrator describes a gang of street-arabs (μόρτηδες) and their leader Forampallas. On the one hand the narrator concentrates on the vindictiveness of the street urchins who abuse a confused old lady. On the other hand a child is himself oppressed by his employer who forces him to carry a heavy pump (IV.140.25-33). This ambiguous view of children closely mirrors the paradoxical representation of the vagrant discussed in the previous section.

Children, no less than tramps, offer a parody of social life and are associated with demonic and bestial symbolism. In the satirical story *Ἡ Δασκαλομάννα*, the children are likened to small devils (μικροὶ διάβολοι III.27.29) and wild animals (ἀνήσυχα ἀγρίμια III.20.24), while the school is described as a θηριοτροφεῖον (III.20.23-24). Similarly, in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* the children are described as little devils (II.183.17) and are repeatedly likened to animals - specifically to ἀγριοκάτσικα and ἐρίφια (e.g. II.185.11). An elaborate web of symbolism therefore links the bestial children to the mountain goat-herd and to Fotini's precious ewe (αμνάδα) which the old woman sleeps with and lavishes her affections upon (II.183.10-23).[31]

Often children are cruel in their mimicry of adults. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, for example, Xenoula mimics Frangoyannou

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31.Bestiality is here countered by the religious significance of the lamb. In his love letter, Kostas, conventionally, refers to his love as an ἀρνί (II.194.15).

(III.470.21-22), just as in *Ἡ Ψυχοκόρη* the little girl abuses her grandmother by imitating her (IV.612.12-13). Children are likened to ἔνσαρκοι δαίμονες in *Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα*, leading the protagonist astray and preying on his fear of vampire ghosts (κρούσματα, στοιχειά III.243.6-8). Similarly, Maria in *Ἡ Ψυχοκόρη* is described as devilish (διαβολικὸν IV.615.4). Not only does she lie and steal, but she eats raw meat, an act which links her to the vampirish world of the εξωτικά. Finally, in *Ἡ Τύχη ἀπ' τὴν Ἀμέρικα* the σκιασμένη (III.341.6) young girl Afentra who has been made to recline in an open tomb, dreams that vampires are pursuing her, while her aunt Eparhina imagines that Afentra herself has metamorphosed in to a vampire κ'ἐζητοῦσε νὰ τῆς πίῃ τὸ αἷμα (III.339.23). In short, far from extolling the lost innocence of childhood, Papadiamantis' texts accentuate the brutality and destructiveness of children. In *Φτωχὸς Ἄγιος* the children are described as μικροὶ βάνδαλοι (II.213.19) and an implicit analogy is drawn between the children who kick down the ruined walls of the buildings in the Kastro and the pirates who attempt to storm its walls (see Chapter 4). In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the narrator remarks that the insect-infested prison was the fear of all the local children, thereby implicitly associating the children with criminality, dirt and the social connotations of pollution (III.500.15-19). By the same token, adult deviants are themselves characterized by "childish" behaviour: trickery, thievery, and mimicry of accepted conventions.

The equation of social aberrance and trickery with pollution is the subject of Papadiamantis' story *Γιὰ τὰ ὀνόματα* [1902], where the narrative focuses on the διαβολικῇ συνεργίᾳ (III.400.20) of two μάγκες τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Apostolis Kaloumas and Petros Yiftaros are vagrants who keep a list of the villagers' name-days, in order to exploit the celebrants' hospitality on the appropriate day. On the feast of St. Nicholas, while the villagers are in the church, Apostolis goes round marking the houses which are celebrating. Meanwhile Petros, who has quarrelled with his

former partner, is determined to take revenge. He dupes Apostolis by changing the position of the marks, motivated in his action, as the narrator observes, by the knowledge that:

> ἀφοῦ τὰ εἶχε χαλασμένα μὲ τὸν 'Αποστόλην, οὗτος θὰ ἔκαμνε τὰς ἐπισκέψεις μόνος του, αὐτὸς δέ, ξυπόλητος ὅπως ἦτον καὶ ἀπεριποίητος, «ἀζήλευτος», δυσκόλως θὰ ἐτόλμα νὰ εἰσέλθη εἰς τὰς οἰκίας (III.401.21-24).

The denouement of the story describes how, taken in by Petros' ploy, Apostolis mistakes Yiannis Tzaferis' house for Nikolakis Kounielis', whereupon he is ejected by Yiannis' wife; a woman who is obsessed with hygiene. Indeed, the narrator has previously described in some detail how Diamantirizena's house is regulated by hygienic interdictions and she forbids τὰ ξυπόλυτα from entering the building, even during festivities (III.400.14-17). As she throws out Apostolis, she exclaims: - Μή!..Μή!..Μή!..Μὴ μοῦ λερώνῃς τὴ σκάλα! (III.402.33). A latent parallel is also intimated in the narrative between the vagrant's invasion of the clean house and the contaminating infiltration of a parasitic bed-bug (κοριός III.399.24-26). Apostolis' intrusion becomes a threat to the house's sanitation and to the integrity of the "house" as a social category. Cleanliness and purity are, in fact, explicitly related in the story through the narrator's description of the "sanctuary" (ἄδυτον) where Diamantirizena houses the icons, and which is the focal site of her cleaning mania (III.398-399). Divinity is implicitly hedged off from the threats of external defilement, while the acts of washing and scrubbing are linked to ritual purification.

Γιὰ τὰ ὀνόματα thus explores the metaphoric equivalences of purity and pollution, concepts which, as Douglas has demonstrated [1966], involve "matter out of place": the muddling of categories whereby objects belonging to one

category are present within the domain of the other.[32] By satirizing Diamantirizena's neurosis for cleaning, the narrator undermines the rigidity of the boundaries that she imposes between purity and dirt. Moreover, her husband's unrespectable, or "dirty" language when complaining of his wife's enthusiasm for washing - he refers to his wife as σκύλα (III.399.6-16) - implicitly inverts notions of linguistic purity.[33] Similarly, the comedy of Petros' hoax intimates that names are unstable symbolic categories employed to distinguish one individual from another. Like Diamantirizena's absolute category of purity, names institute similar "artificial boundaries in a field which is 'naturally' continuous" (Leach 1976: 33). The final irony of Papadiamantis' story, however, lies in the advantage which the vagabond Petros secures from the hilarity of the situation. As the narrator observes:

> ὁ Πέτρος ὁ Γύφταρος εἰσώρμησεν εἰς τὴν γειτονικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὅπου ἄρχισε νὰ διηγῆται εἰς τοὺς οἰκοκυραίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκέπτας τὸ πάθημα τοῦ 'Αποστόλη μετερχόμενος τὸ μέσον τοῦτο ὡς εἰσιτήριον διὰ τὸν ἑαυτόν του, τὸν ξυπόλυτον (III.403.6-9).

Paradoxically, the narration of Apostolis' unfortunate intrusion becomes a pretext for Petros' own insinuation into the Kounieli household.

In short, in *Γιὰ τὰ ὀνόματα*, Diamantirizena's obsession with cleanliness is itself construed as a form of deviancy, or as

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32.According to Douglas, matter out of place "implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt then, is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt there is system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements. This idea of dirt takes us straight into the field of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obvious symbolic systems of purity" (1991: 35).

33.See, in this context, Herzfeld's discussion of the language question in relation to concepts of purity and pollution (1989: 114-116).

a Greek saying expresses it: "too much cleanliness is halfway to pollution" (Herzfeld 1991: 29). At the same time, the childish trickery undermines the boundaries which demarcate the category of deviancy, as a symbolic form of ordering meaning, and shows them to be fluid. This very instability, Papadiamantis' text intimates, gives rise to the conflict and comedy at the heart of social life.[34]

There is a strong connection between children and the outdoors in Papadiamantis' fiction, as children frequently accompany old women on their country excursions to outlying chapels. As Farinou-Malamatari has observed, children are characterized as speaking in dialect or idiolect, along with shepherds and old women (1987: 174). Moreover, children, like Papadiamantis' other wanderers, are repeatedly associated with ghosts. Along with shepherds and old women, they venture out of the protected circle of the home into the surrounding wilderness. In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* the orphan Kotsos accompanies his aunt Kratina who is described as a denizen of the open fields (III.615.29-30) into the countryside. This child is explicitly linked to the anti-social world beyond the village, "on the the margin of his Society, both figuratively and literally" (Papadiamantis 1987: xvi) as he climbs trees, rocks, cliffs and peaks (III.611.9-11) like a wild scampering goat (ὡς ἀγριοκάτσικον):

> Ὁ Κῶτσος ἠγάπα ὅλα τὰ τῆς ἐξοχῆς, τὰ βουνὰ καὶ τὰ δάση, τὰς βρύσεις, τὰ ρεύματα καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ φαντάσματα (III.615.31-32).

Here the countryside beyond the village (εξοχή) is equated with the supernatural (φαντάσματα) and as an outcast himself

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34.Notions of contagion recur in Papadiamantis' fiction; notably in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* (see previous chapter) and in *Ἡ Χολιαρισμένη* [1901]. Similarly, Apostolis' marking of the houses with a black sign in *Γιὰ τὰ ὀνόματα* parodies the custom, described at the beginning of *Ἡ Μετανάστις*, of daubing the houses of plague victims with black crosses καὶ ἄλλα πένθιμα σήματα (I.5.14-15).

(he is reputedly illegitimate) Kotsos is instinctively drawn to the anti-social wilderness.

In the short story *Τὰ Κρούσματα* a similar relationship is developed between children and ghosts, as the μικρὸς μάγκας (III.546.36) Falkos journeys with his mother Maho to the abandoned and haunted Kastro. Earlier, Maho has related her childhood memories of trips to the Kastro (III.546.6) and asserts that as a young girl she herself saw neraides (III.547.27). For Maho, who was born in the now derelict Kastro, childhood is associated with a general nostalgia for a lost age. At the same time, as Blum and Blum observe, neraides are closely linked with children, since their ecstatic revelries and uninhibited actions express the antithesis to the married state (1970: 218). Neraides represent forms of unmediated expression, and the irruption of unintegrated, childish energies. Later the narrator remarks that Falkos has heard similar stories of ghosts from other children in the village (e.g. ἀπὸ παιδία, μάγκες III.546.37, 547.23).

The culmination of the identifaction of children and ghosts in *Τὰ Κρούσματα* occurs when Falkos' cousin Stamatis pretends to be a ghost. As Falkos jokes: Ἂν εἶναι στοιχειό, εἶπε, θὰ μοιάζῃ μὲ τὸν ἐξάδελφό μου τὸν Σταμάτη (III.553.20-21). Stamatis later tells his cousin how he eavesdropped on two shepherd boys devising a plan to frighten him by pretending to be ghosts. Taking the initiative, however, Stamatis forestalled them and pretended he himself was a ghost (πίστεψαν πὼς ἦτον στοιχειὸ ποὺ τοὺς κυνήγησε (III.555.32)).

Farinou-Malamatari maintains that the theme of *Τὰ Κρούσματα* is the demythologizing of ghosts and spirits through the personal eye-witnessing and examination of the characters (1987: 133). A close reading of the text, however, demonstrates how, far from debunking superstitions of ghosts, human actions - no less than the places in which

those actions are localized - are construed as "haunted". Both Falkos' and his cousin Stamatis' encounters with ghosts/children take place in a context of multiple legends and familial tales relating past confrontations with spirits. Present experiences, the narrative intimates, are shaped by accounts of earlier experiences, just as the houses of the new town are constructed out of the remnants of the abandoned Kastro (III.545-546).

The text repeatedly links individual meetings with ghosts to the mass desertion of the Kastro, which has been transformed, in the words of the narrator, into a "living memory" (III.546.14). In this way, the present is construed as haunted by "a collective ghost" of the past,[35] just as, in some sense, "the dead annex the living who become their replicas and successors".[36]

The notion of successors as replicas, or ghosts of previous generations, is touched on in numerous Papadiamantis' stories, where grandchildren assume the names of their grandparents, and where children mirror the physical appearance and action of their parents.[37] Conversely, as Agras has noted, in several texts children are given adult nicknames: the grandmother in *'Η Σταχομαζώχτρα*, for example, calls her grandson Yero, while Baboukos' son is known as Papos in *Τὸ 'Ενιαύσιον θῦμα* (1979: 174-175).[38] A comic

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35.Virginia Woolf, quoted in Lowenthal (1993: 14).
36.Marcel Proust, quoted in Lowenthal (1993: 209).
37.Ideas of ghosts and inheritance are central concerns in Henrik Ibsen's (1828-1906) plays. In *Ghosts* [1881], for example, Mrs Alving declares: "But I'm inclined to think that we're all ghosts, Pastor Manders; it's not only the things that we've inherited from our fathers and mothers that live on in us, but all sorts of old dead ideas and old dead beliefs, and things of that sort" (1964: 61). Papadiamantis was familiar with *Ghosts* (*Βρυκόλακες*), which he mentions in a critical article on Ibsen, published in 1894, the year that Ibsen's *Ghosts* was first staged in Athens (Papadiamantis 1993b). For a discussion of the significance of Papadiamantis' article, see N.D. Triantafillopoulos (1993). For a comparative analysis of the supernatural in Papadiamantis and French nineteenth-century literature, see Siaflckis (1992).
38.See, in this context, Stewart's comments, that the strong bond linking children to their grandparents "verges on

example of this ghostly reflection of the older generation in the young is developed in *'Εξοχικὸν κρουσμα* [1906], where the narrative focuses on the enigma of how one individual can be at two places at the same time. The story ends with the narrator's revelation - as he is passing by a funeral cortege - that there were in fact two individuals all the while; a father (now dead) and his son (IV.130.21-25). Similarly, in the story *'Η Χτυπημένη*, the narrator observes that Yiannena's daughter is an ἀπαράλλακτον ἀντίτυπον τῆς μητρός της, μικρογραφία τῆς αὐτῆς εἰκόνος (II.137.9-10). Conversely, Yiannena's son is a replica (ἀντίγραφον) of his father (II.137.12) and therefore preferred by his paternal grandmother, Permahou. Ghosts are an important theme in this story, which begins with an account of Yiannena's encounter with a *kantina*,[39] and the mortal illness that ensues. After her confrontation with the supernatural apparition, Yiannena herself takes on the appearances of a ghost. She becomes λευκὴ ὡς σινδών (II.136.4), just as her daughter is λευκοτάτη (II.137.10). Moreover her speech impediment, specifically her inability to enunciate the letter "r", parodies a child's idiom.

In *'Η Χτυπημένη* Yiannena's daughter is thus implicitly likened to a ghost. She reflects her mother's ghostliness, just as the *kantina* becomes an externalized image of Yiannena's own non-entity in a family which is dominated by the grandmother, Permahou, who will not even permit her daughter-in-law's family to visit their afflicted child.

If children are in one sense outsiders, they also mirror the social community. In the face of their exclusion, they erect and maintain their own group boundaries (cf. James

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metempsychosis" (1991: 58). He refers to Emile Benveniste's observation [1969]: "When a son is born to somebody, it is the grandfather who 'reappears,' and this is why they have the same name. The young child is, as it were, a diminutive representation of the ancestor which it incarnates: it is a 'little grandfather,' who is born again after an interval of a generation" (Stewart 1991: 264).

39.N.D. Triantafillopoulos glosses the term as φάντασμα μὲ μορφὴ τούρκισσας (II.686).

1986: 156). They form gangs with leaders, stake out their territory and engage in aggressive exhibitions of manhood.[40] Thus in *Τ'Ἀερικὸ στὸ δέντρο* [1907] the children form two gangs, one from the city (οἱ μάγκαι τῆς πόλεως IV.212.21) and one from the country (τ'ἀνήλικα παιδία τῶν ἀγροδιαίτων IV.210.11), which battle for supremacy. Similarly, in *Οἱ Χαλασοχώρηδες* the children split into two main groups, thus mirroring the political divide. Finally, in *Γουτοῦ Γουπατοῦ*, the narrator asserts that the village is divided into two gangs: ὅλα τὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἦσαν διηρημένα εἰς δύο μεγάλα πάνοπλα στρατόπεδα (III.186.11-12). In the Upper Parish Tsilotatos rules (ἐβασίλευεν) like a king over an autocratic regime that terrorizes the villagers and forbids intruders. As the arbitrator of the threshold (πάντοτε φρουρὸς τῆς ἔξω θύρας III.189.16), Tsilotatos levies "taxes" on those whom he permits to pass (III.186-187)

Conclusion

The present chapter has focused on the relations between social formation and landscape symbolism through the associating of outcasts with specific locations, and through the protagonists' wandering activities. If wandering effects communion, it is also related to alienation and death. Wandering is symptomatic of a restless postlapsarian existence, just as the protagonist's estrangement in *Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* results from his disobedience. As Farinou-Malamatari observes of this text:

> η περιπλάνηση μπορεί να εκληφθεί ως αποτέλεσμα της έκπτωσης μετά την ανυπακοή

40.While Ricks observes that the use of Homeric allusions in *Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* represents a "forerunner of the Homeric allusion on a larger scale" in Kosmas Politis' *Eroica* [1937/38] (1992: 186-187), this novel recalls Papadiamantis' interest in the heroics of childhood. There are many parallels, for example, between the story *Ὁλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* and *Eroica*, where the rivalry between Loizos and Alekos for Monika, echoes the rivalry between Hristodoulis and the anonymous hero for Polimnia.

(Προπατορικό Αμάρτημα). Συνέπειές της είναι η υποτέλεια του ανθρώπου στο άξενο περιβάλλον, η απομόνωσή του από τους ανθρώπους και τους χώρους της κοινότητας (1987: 264).[41]

Moreover, in *Φορτωμένα κόκκαλα* [1907], Stamatis' wanderings through the countryside, and his periodical disappearances from society, become - in the words of the narrator: τὰ προανακρούσματα τῆς ὁριστικῆς ἐξαφανίσεώς του ἀπὸ τὸν μάταιον κόσμον (IV.217.18-19).

In the course of the present chapter an attempt has been made to show how Papadiamantis' fiction inverts accepted spatial and social relations by marginalizing those conventionally considered to inhabit the inside (children) and, conversely, bringing the outsiders to the fore. Children and wanderers are repeatedly associated with the discourse of the Other: with εξωτικά, with animals, and with liminal locations such as ruins, outlying chapels, or graveyards, which convey concepts of exteriority, and which are the focus of ritual activity. In the imagery of exclusion and rejection the dispossessed merge with the non-human world (cf. Sibley 1992: 107). Wanderers and outsiders offer an inversion or mirror image of social conventions, like Filareto's mysterious mirror in *Ὁ Πανδρολόγος*, which frightens off the children:

> Ὦ! ἕνα καθρέπτην τερατώδη, ἔχοντα δύο πρόσωπα, τὸ ἓν ἀνθρώπινον τὸ ἄλλο θηριῶδες! (III.379.13-14).

The dispossessed reflect Man's mysterious, bestial Other; representing what M. Harbsmeier, in his study of xenology, calls "counter-concepts" [1985].[42] As an oppositional category, the outsider reinforces and defines group

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41.See Ricks' analysis of the Homeric allusions in this text where "the narrator in effect compares the wandering of his childhood self over part of a day with those of Odysseus over ten years" (1992b: 184).
42.Cited in Duncan (1993: 44).

identity. Finally, the portrayal of children, wanderers and outsiders involves the exploration of centre-periphery relations and an investigation of the processes by which boundaries legitimize exclusion. Homelessness and forms of nomadic life function, in this context, not only as "a powerful counterforce to ...settlement and home-building", but also express "a deep and pervasive ambivalence about settlement" (Chandler 1991: 4).

By exploring the symbolism of exteriority, of location and concomitant displacement, Papadiamantis' texts shed light on the symbolic values attached to outsiders and in turn uncover the significance invested on these outsiders by the community. His fiction investigates how "almost any matter of perceived difference can be rendered symbolically as a resource of its boundary" (Cohen 1985: 117), while social identity itself is procured and consolidated by fixing a limit.

6

THE SILENT BAZAAR: MONEY

Papadiamantis' texts explore cultural perceptions of space in an epoch when, as Stephen Kern has observed, a series of far-reaching cultural and technological changes instituted radically new modes of conceptualizing and experiencing time and space (1983).[1] As previous chapters have shown, Papadiamantis' stories expose the textuality of landscape, demonstrating how it is "created and modified over time as part of the cultural and political changes taking place" (Duncan 1989: 186). Importance is attached to the regulation and use of land and to the role played by territoriality in the social construction of identity. While territoriality can be defined as "a spatial strategy to affect, influence or control resources and people", close readings of Papadiamantis' texts suggest that territoriality "is inextricably related to how people use land, how they organize themselves, and how they give meaning to space" (Sack 1986: 1-2).

Earlier chapters have sought to explicate how Papadiamantis' fiction accentuates the importance of property relations and examines the contending claims to ownership which sometimes result in land disputes. Attention has been paid to boundaries, and in the previous chapter an analysis was made of the dispossesed wanderers, the landless drifters who dwell beyond the bounds, or on the margins of social convention. Landholding in Papadiamantis' texts is not only considered in its legal dimension, but its central role in an economic and social order is also explored. For just as space is ordered and configured through economic forces, so too, is the economy embedded in the land.

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1. Papadiamantis had translated sections of Alexander Craib's *America and the Americans* [1893] in the periodical *Τό Νέον Πνεῦμα*, a book which described life in New York, the world's emerging commercial centre. See Craib (1991).

One of this study's main objectives has been to investigate the significance of the recurrent violation of boundaries which takes place in Papadiamantis' fiction. Attention has focused on migration and on the intrusion of foreigners or outsiders into protected spaces. The final chapter is concerned with money, which is similarly conceived as a transgressive force, and is often linked, in Papadiamantis' fiction, to time as an incursive, alienating drive. Natural barriers and distances are breached by the flow of capital, just as local and religious conceptions of chronology are assaulted by a "common language of time measurement" (Landes 1983: 20), which is "the steady onward clocking of homogeneous empty time" (Anderson 1992: 33).

In *Τὰ Τελευταῖα τοῦ γέρου* [1925] a young suitor hoodwinks Yiorgoula into giving him her daughter's hand in marriage by sporting ἕνα ὡρολόγι χρυσό (IV.579.13), and thus deluding her into thinking him affluent. Similarly, it is no coincidence that when the narrator in *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* recalls the prosperous times of Barba Yiannios' youth he observes:

> εἶχε φορέσει ἀγγλικές τσόχες, βελούδινα γελέκα, ψηλὰ καπέλα, εἶχε κρεμάσει καδένες χρυσὲς μὲ ὡρολόγια, εἶχεν ἀποκτήσει χρήματα (III.105.19-20).

Here, watches on their golden chains become metonymic of time, which is an exigency acquired along with top hats and other lavish accoutrements; time is not only related to money (χρήματα), but to an essentially extravagant and treacherous European style. If clock time is construed by the narrator of *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* as a European invention (περὶ ὥραν δεκάτην εὐρωπαϊστί II.535.16), time measurement is also conceived as an "agent and catalyst in the use of knowledge for wealth and power" (Landes 1983: 12). Time, like money, has its relative value, a connection made explicit through the practice of usury where time is made to yield financial gain.[2]

2.As a social institution rent also denotes a relationship

Money when it figures in Papadiamantis' stories is often of foreign origin: Venetian, German, English, American or Turkish. It is brought or sent from abroad and associated with outsiders, as opposed to the indigenous local population. As an internationally convertible medium of exchange, money ignores frontiers and threatens to erode traditional social hierarchies and patterns of kinship. As Sant Cassia remarks: "money becomes both the metaphor and the vehicle for this change, symbolising the break-up of the moral community and the bonds of kinship" (1992: 251-252). Monetary acquisition, and the emergence of a moneyed merchant class, jeopardize the privileges of the landowners: money in both a literal and a figurative sense assails and penetrates conventional boundaries. As E.T. Powell observed: "the economic frontier no longer corresponds with the political".[3]

The focus, here, however, is not on money as a cultural "text" inescapably inscribed in Papadiamantis' stories, but rather, on the conspicuous critique of that "text" within his fiction. In Papadiamantis, money is repeatedly juxtaposed to land. In contrast to land, finance and commerce belong to an impersonal economic process, symbolized in texts such as *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, as a game of cards.[4] Money replaces produce and the merchant (who is often the moneylender) and, literally speaking, creates nothing (cf. Parry and Block 1989: 2). As the narrator observes of the pawnbroker in *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, any visitor entering the shop would have been

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between time and money, as well as underlining a potential conflict between them. Numerous Papadiamantis texts centre on the problems faced by tenants in paying their rent to the landlord. Indeed, Sakellarios, the protagonist of *Ὁ Αὐτοκτόνος* [1954] owes three back rents (IV.631.13) and commits suicide.

3.Quoted in Dodgshon (1987: 353).

4.This analogy points to the lability of money, which has no intrinsic value and is activated only when it begins to circulate within the sign-system. For an insightful analysis of the card-game as a metonymic order, see Reilly (1993: 164-165).

struck by the fact that it did not sell anything: δὲν ἐπώλει τίποτε (II.252.25). Capital is here contrasted to labour and material produce (by contrast Barba Steryios is a plasterer who sells lime and his wife bakes bread),[5] a disjunction which represents the separation of the economy from the domestic milieu.[6]

The notion of money's relative and extrinsic value is explored in Mark Twain's story *The £1,000,0000 Bank-Note* [1893] which Papadiamantis translated into Greek [1893] (1993). In this text an American is left destitute in London, but, as part of a bet, he is loaned a one million pound cheque which he cannot cash. The text focuses on the theoretic worth of fiduciary money since the value of the cheque is fictive, residing wholly in public confidence in that value. In one sense, therefore, monetary symbolism directs attention onto the ambiguity between substance and sign. The value of money is, from this perspective, a phantom worth and it is perhaps not surprising that ghosts are often the keepers of money, as in *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* (III.614-615). Similarly, in *Τῆς Κοκκώνας τὸ σπίτι* Yiannis Paloukas hides in a haunted house and dresses up as a σκαλικάντζαρος to steal money. Like the circulation of a newspaper which conjures up an imagined community in the minds of its fellow readers, so money itself, in

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5.In *Ἡ Χτυπημένη* there is an implicit connection between the redundant φούρνος (II.135.7) and Yiannis' dire financial situation: he is heavily in debt to creditors (II.137-138). In contrast, Yiannios' neighbour in *Ὁ Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια* has her own hand-mill with which she makes bread (III.106.18-23). Bread is an important symbol of community, as Campbell indicates, when he quotes from E.S. Drower: "Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a family bound together by a common factor" (1970: 117). See also du Boulay who, when discussing villagers' suspicion of cash, notes the significance invested in bread as a product of an individual's own toil and therefore a symbol of self-reliance (1974: 37-38).

6.See, in this context, Thompson, who examines the shift in time-sense and temporal notation which was a concomitant of "industrial capitalism". To paraphrase Thompson, time was translated into currency: it was no longer "past", but "spent" (1967: 59-60).

Papadiamantis' fiction, is conceived of as a "visible invisibility" (cf. Anderson 1992).[7]

Papadiamantis' stories are replete with monetary symbolism; they reverberate with what the narrator in *Οἱ Λίρες τοῦ Ζάχου* calls the μεταλλικὸς κρότος of money (IV.294.11). The preoccupation with monetary arrangements is evident from the first novels. As Triantafillopoulos remarks of *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν*: τὸ κύριο θέμα οὐσιαστικὰ εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα (1992: 19). Here, the very title is reminiscent of Adam Smith's classic treatise on political economy, the *Wealth of Nations* [1776].[8] Money is evoked as a force motivating human actions and becomes the chief currency governing relations. Indeed, in his foreword to the main narrative, the narrator presents the fiction as an authentic document which was uncovered by a merchant acquaintance of his: μόνον χάριν τοῦ ἐμπορίου τῶν σπόγγων εἶχεν ἐπισκεφθῆ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα (I.135.6-7).

Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα opens and closes with monetary transactions: soldiers throw Vrangis a βαλάντιον πλῆρες χρημάτων when they abduct Aïma (I.366.8-9), while at the conclusion Plethon hands the old man a γενναῖον χρηματικὸν βοήθημα (I.657.16). In the course of the narrative the heroine is repeatedly bought and sold, first by the soldiers, later by the gypsy in a chapter entitled "Ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ ἡ πώλησις" (I.442-450), and by Mahtos who attempts to buy the services of the monastery's guard Treklas (I.546-550). In *Ἡ Γυφτοπούλα* only Plethon appears unaffected by money, although he curries the favour of others with it, and has limitless cash at his disposal:

7.The further connection between time and newspapers is made explicit in *Ἡ Ἀσπροφουστανοῦσα*, when the narrator mentions that watches are being given away by Athenian newspapers as gifts to their subscribers (IV.561.13-14). Here, the commerciality of the new mass-readership press is clearly linked to clock-time.
8.On the close relationship between economic and nationalist theory, see Hobsbawm (1992: 24-32).

> Ἔπειτα δὲν λυπᾶται ποτὲ τὰ χρήματα. Ὄχι μόνον δὲν τὰ λυπᾶται, ἀλλὰ δὲν τὰ ἐκτιμᾷ ποσῶς. Δὲν τὰ βλέπει ἐμπροστά του οὔτε ὡς λιθάρια. Τὰ καταπατεῖ ὡς χαλίκια. Πλειότερον ἐκτιμᾷς ἐσὺ τὲς σκωριὲς παρὰ ἐκεῖνος τὸ μάλαμα (I.415.5-8).

In the early novels, characters deceive and kill for money, like the boatman Skathis who drowns his companion Morozis in order to claim the full reward of fifty florins in *Οἱ Ἔμποροι τῶν Ἐθνῶν* (I.199.17-18). On the other hand, Sanoutos and his black servant distribute money liberally as an incentive for others to act on their behalf. Indeed, Venetian power is explicitly based on the Republic's ruthless mercantile philsophy, as the Doge intimates in his conversation with Sanoutos (I.187.23-30).

Money in these novels is indestructible, while accumulated capital is the object of fetishist contemplation. If money is not necessarily the goal, it is nevertheless the means to an end. Indeed, the mediation of money is apparent throughout these early texts. Even those who claim to despise it, need it; money is recognized by all regardless of race or creed. The role of money in the early novels thus anticipates its importance in the later fiction, where money is a resilient object of desire, but also of contempt. When the angel descends to Athens in *Τὰ Πτερόεντα δῶρα* [1907] he finds that money is the sole preoccupation of its inhabitants, who are engaged in relentlessly counting out their cash (IV.191-192).

In Papadiamantis' fiction money is acquired in numerous ways: stolen, dug up, gambled, earned by treachery, even found miraculously suspended in a pine tree, thrown into a well, and hidden in a cellar. In *Τ'Μπουφ'τοὺ π'λὶ* [1904] an artist paints a picture representing silver and gold coins popping out of an open mouth like little birds (III.653-654). Money here becomes a substitute for food[9]

9.The figurative "eating" of money is common in Greek. On

and words, just as it does in *Ὁ Ἀμερικάνος*, where the protagonist compensates for his broken Greek by dispensing silver dollars liberally (e.g. II.265.23-25, 265.7-22). Yet money also leads to suicide, divorce and murder. When it is lost it can drive its losers to despair. It is indispensible to societies and yet - Papadiamantis' texts intimate - it is also intrinsically anti-social.

In Papadiamantis' fiction, money is sometimes related to a vampiric capitalism - τὸ τέρας τὸ κίτρινον (IV.317.4-5) - which represents the inversion of Christian principles, and a form of idolatry. As Barba Steryios asserts in *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, παράδες δὲν προσκυνῶ ἐγώ!...Ἐγὼ ἐχτιμῶ φιλίαν! (II.248.33-34), the narrator thereby implying that the other cardplayers *do* in fact worship money. Or as Barba Markos exhorts in *Ἄλλος τύπος*: Χρήματα νὰ μὴ προσκυνᾷς (III.596.16).[10] Similarly, numerous texts focus on the "demonisation" of the moneylender or the usurer, a common literary theme of the period (cf. Watts 1990).[11] Moneylenders are associated with the ascendancy of an aggressive materialism and contrasted to Christianity. In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, for example, the narrator, when discussing Kotsos' reputed illegitimacy, observes: οἱ νόμοι τοὺς ὁποίους ἔβαλεν ὁ Πανάγαθος Θεὸς δὲν τῆς ἐφαίνοντο νὰ εἶναι τόσον στενοὶ καὶ γλίσχροι, ὅσον τὰ κατάστιχα τῶν τοκογλύφων (III.609.8-9). Conversely, Father Kiriakos in *Ἐξοχικὴ Λαμπρή* nearly forsakes the liturgy when he believes that he is being cheated out of his rightful portion of the congregational collection (II.128). In *Οἱ Χαλασοχώρηδες*, the distribution of money as *rousfeti* points to the

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the prevalence of metaphors of money as food in Greece, see Sant Cassia (1992: 85).

10.See, also, the narrator's remarks in *Οἱ Χαλασοχώρηδες*: Ἡ πλουτοκρατία ἦτο, εἶναι καὶ θὰ εἶναι ὁ μόνιμος ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ διαρκὴς ἀντίχριστος (II.453.21-22).

11.In *Crime and Punishment*, which Papadiamantis translated in serial form in 1889, for example, the protagonist Raskolnikov murders a moneylender. Interestingly Dostoevsky's letters, like Papadiamantis', reflect a preoccupation with money. On the rise of moneylenders and pawnbroking in the nineteenth-century, see Chesney (1991: 290-291). For an illuminating account of the money motif in Dostoevsky, see Catteau (1989: 135-168).

corruption of the patrimonial political system, where voters are bought by bribes from prospective candidates. Ironically, poverty itself is an issue on which the parties campaign (II.410-411).

In contrast to the age of commerce, corruption and usury, the narrator sometimes evokes the vision of a Golden Age that preceded the age of a monetary economy:

> The land, which had previously been common to all, like the sunlight and breezes, was now divided up far and wide by boundaries, set by cautious surveyors.[12]

Papadiamantis' texts, however, do not accept these stereotypes, but instead they elucidate the relationship between territoriality and money which the dream of the Golden Age foregrounds.[13] In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, for example, the construction by the merchant Moschos of a wall around his new estate contrasts to the open land across which the shepherd narrator roams. By implication, the clarification of property rights and their clearer prescription, which accompanied the rise of a free-market economy, instigate Moschos' "closed, more exclusive sense of property and use of space" (Dodgshon 1987: 348). Yet, as Chapter 4 has shown, this juxtaposition between a land which is common to all and a land which is divided by formal boundaries is undermined in the text by the recurring motif of enclosure which ranges from the monastery to the boundaries defining the land where the shepherd grazes his

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12.Ovid, quoted in Watts (1990: 11).
13.A juxtaposition between the money-orientated town and the paradisal island (ἦτον ὡς παράδεισος...τὸ πάλαι τὸν κῆπον τῆς Ἐδέμ IV.178.27-29) occurs in the story *Τὰ Λιμανάκια* [1907] where the protagonist, Ilias Bablenos, goes to Volos to purchase provisions for the islanders. In the first paragraphs the narrator details Bablenos' monetary transactions and the relative prices of the articles he buys. On his way back to the island, however, Bablenos is forced to throw his purchases overboard because of the tempestuous weather. Here, then, a paradisal age of social harmony is contrasted to an iron age of fierce competition.

flock and the claustrophic space of the lawyer's office. In *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* claims to a boundless Golden Age are consistently deflated, while another ironic contrast between money and territory occurs in the story *Τὰ Βενέτικα* where Yiannios, the narrator's cousin, is intent on uncovering the buried cache of Venetian coins in order to provide for the cause of the *Megali Idea*: Εἶχε μανίαν ν'ἀποκτήση θησαυρούς, διὰ νὰ σώση τὸ Γένος (IV.436.16-17). Money underpins even the most ideal of irredentist projects.[14]

There is a clear relationship between money and literacy in Papadiamantis' texts. If the Golden Age was an era of barter and orality, the commercial capitalist age is directly linked to writing. The narrator focuses on this relation in the story *Ἐπιμηθεῖς εἰς τὸν βράχον* when he reports the observations of another member of the congregation:

> Ὅπως ὁ φιλάργυρος μὲ τὸν θησαυρό του, τὸ ἴδιο καὶ σὺ μὲ τὰ γράμματά σου· τὰ κρύβεις, τὰ χώνεις βαθιά (IV.589.13-14).

The literate narrator is envisaged here as the curator of a "scribal museum" (Stock 1983: 529), keeper of a word-hoard, and a parallel is drawn between the accumulation of capital and the procurement of knowledge. While this sentence is reminiscent of Barba Stefanis' assertion in *Στὸ Χριστὸ στὸ Κάστρο* (see Chapter 3), a connection is made, here, between money as a system of tropes, like language.[15] As Marc Shell has observed, "money and language are complementary or competing systems of tropic production and exchange" (1982: 180).[16] Moreover, according to the analogy in *Ἐπιμηθεῖς*

14.The irony in this text is that while Yiannios is excavating for his mythic hoard, his own inheritance is being dissipated by Malakias, a φοβερὸς ἀλήτης (IV.436.18).
15.In the texts no clear distinction is made between the term θησαυρός and χρήματα. See, for example, the relevant passages in *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* where the narrator speaks of treasure (III.615.1) and later of coins: γρόσια πολλά, φλωριὰ ἀναρίθμητα (III.617.21).
16.As Baudrillard observes: "Saussure located two dimensions to the exchange of terms of the *langue*, which he assimilated to money. A given coin must be exchangeable

εἰς τὸν βράχον, language can be interred and disinterred, like treasure, from a lexical storehouse.

The relationship between γράμματα and θησαυρός is important in *Ἡ Μαυρομαντηλοὺ*, where Yiannios' luxuriant garden is likened to an open book (βιβλίον ἀνοικτόν) out of the depths of which Yiannios plucks treasures:

> καὶ ὁ κῆπος ὁ μυστηριώδης ἐπρότεινε τὰ στέρνα ἀνοίγων τοὺς θησαυρούς του εἰς τὰς ἐπιδεξίους χεῖρας τοῦ πεπειραμένου κηπουροῦ (II.155.12).

Thus, while in *Τὰ Λιμανάκια* the paradisal island garden is contrasted to the urban commercial centre (Volos), here the garden itself conceals valuables. Similarly, in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα* there is a connection between on the one hand the exchange of produce and service and illiteracy and on the other hand, writing and money. The narrator observes, for example, that as a poor (φτωχὸς) illiterate shepherd boy he was paid a wage of five and later six drachmas a month by the monastery for looking after its flock of goats. Yet he was also given goods in payment: Σιμὰ εἰς τὸν μισθὸν τοῦτον, τὸ Μοναστήρι μοῦ ἔδιδε καὶ φασκιὲς διὰ τσαρούχια, καὶ ἄφθονα μαῦρα ψωμία ἢ πίττες (III.263.16-20). Furthermore, in return for the pleasure of listening to the shepherd playing his flute (φλογέρα), Moschoula sends him dried figs and a goblet full of πετμέζι (III.31-34). The exchange of goods and services which characterized the life of the illiterate adolescent thus contrasts to the salaried employment of the literate adult in Athens.

The interrelation of money and writing is also developed in *Ἡ Σταχομαζώχτρα*, where the impoverished widow Ahtitsa receives a letter from her son Yiannis in America, together

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against a real good of some value, while on the other hand it must be possible to relate it to all the other terms in the monetary system" (1993: 6).

with a bill of exchange. Father Dimitris reads the letter aloud, but finds the writing almost unintelligible:

> -Εἶναι κακογραμμένα, ἐπανέλαβε, κ'ἐγὼ δυσκολεύομαι νὰ διαβάζω αὐτὲς τὶς τζίφρες ποὺ ἔβγαλαν τώρα, ἀλλὰ θὰ προσπαθήσωμεν νὰ βγάλωμεν νόημα (II.120.2-4).

In this passage the emphasis is not on the false appearance of money, rather, the narrator underlines the problematic relation between the letters or signs (τζίφρες) and the meaning (νόημα) which the priest attempts to connect. Later, when the old lady attempts to exchange the bill in Margaritis' shop, there is a similar confusion between the sign and meaning as the shopkeeper and the teacher (who puts on glasses like the priest) attempt to decipher the illegible currency denomination (II.121-122). The referential value of money is here undermined and by implication, money is a floating symbolism (Shell 1982: 40); it is subject, like language, to multiple interpretations and therefore vulnerable to exploitation. Value is relative, since it depends upon the system by which it is measured. The narrator in *Ἡ Σταχομαζώχτρα* extends the interplay of money and writing "to a point where the two become confused".[17] Money is a text that needs decoding and there is an inextricable relationship between aesthetic and monetary symbolism.

Money is not always portrayed as a malign influence on community and as a force that depersonalizes human relations, transforming them into commodities. If it leads to the rise of the *nouveau riche*, money itself is old and represents a continuity with the past. The stories recounted about money by Nikolos in *Τὰ Βενέτικα*, for example, demonstrate the extent to which money has become part of a folkloric tradition. In contrast to the impoverished present, the old days are full of tales about the miraculous discovery of treasure: Ξέρεις πόσοι ἔχουν

17.Braudel, quoted in Shell (1982: 11).

εὑρεῖ γρόσια στὰ παλαιὰ χρόνια! (IV.433.7). Moreover, as a redeemable symbol, money rescues people from the brink of catastrophe as in *Ἡ Σταχομαζώχτρα*, where Ahtitsa buys her grandchildren shoes and food. Finally, the unimpeded circulation of currency represents a freedom of movement and a metaphor for all exchanges. In contrast, the hoarding or pointless accumulation of cash (as in Delharo's hidden trove in *Ἡ Φόνισσα*) represents a form of constraint and death.

The present chapter therefore examines the manner in which Papadiamantis' texts explore the different and sometimes contradictory significances invested in money. Money is a social code and construction, inseparable from the myths and fantasies which cluster round it. Numerous characters in Papadiamantis' fiction endow money with symbolic worth. Conversely, human and divine relations are sometimes seen as contending economies. In the present chapter an attempt is made to elucidate the relationship intimated in Papadiamantis' texts between money and locality, at a period when the burgeoning Greek state was transforming the nature of exchange, as well as traditional meanings of territory which became subject to the nation-state's sovereign jurisdiction. Section one therefore examines the changing relationship of money to land and the portrayal of the moneylender in Papadiamantis' work. Section two analyses the recurring motif of buried treasure and the confusion between divine and monetary economies in Papadiamantis' stories. An attempt is made to demonstrate how, in texts such as *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, money symbolism becomes a way of exploring wider issues of generation and exchange.

Landowners and Moneylenders

In Papadiamantis' fiction the landowner protagonists experience an erosion of their hegemony and ideas of a collective pre-monetary, moral economy based on labour and

the land, are frequently evoked. The treatment of territory as a commodity is juxtaposed to iconographic conceptions of the land (see Chapter 3). Yet, while the narrator in *Τὸ Χατζόπουλο* declares that in the days before Independence the whole of the island was owned by eight or nine families (IV.412-413), he acknowledges that some of these, like the Moraïtis family, owed its ascendant status to accumulated capital:

> οἱ Μωραϊταῖοι, οἵτινες εἶχον μεταναστεύσει φθίνοντος τοῦ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος ἀπὸ τὸν Μυστρᾶν τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, φέροντες μεγάλα χρηματικὰ κεφάλαια, κ'ἠγόρασαν κι αὐτοὶ πάμπολλα κτήματα εἰς τὴν νῆσον (IV.412-413).

The accumulation of χρηματικὰ κεφάλαια thus leads to the acquisition of land, and although the advent of moneyed outsiders is often portrayed in Papadiamantis as a new phenomenon, passages such as this place the process of land acquisition in a broader historical context. Not only moneyed merchants, but moneylenders and indeed former sailors like Yior_yis Sefertzis, buy up land (πρώην ναυτικὸς καὶ νῦν γεωργοκτηματίας (II.252.16-17).

Nevertheless, in numerous texts the narrator laments the demise of the traditional landowning class. As the narrator remarks of Stathakis in *Θάνατος κόρης* [1907]: 'Εθεωρεῖτο ἀκόμη ὡς ἀρχοντόπουλον, ἂν καὶ ἡ οἰκογένειά του, μὲ τὰς ραγδαίας μεταβολάς, ἅμα τῇ συμπήξει τῆς νέας κοινωνίας, εἶχεν ἐκπέσει οἰκονομικῶς, ὁ Σταθάκης, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ 'Αρέθα (IV.183.15-17). This is an epoch characterized by social mobility and turbulence, as moneyed outsiders come and settle on the island. Kir Moschos in *Ὄνειρο στὸ κῦμα*, for example, is described as a μικρὸς ἄρχων. He has made his money in commercial enterprises and bought up extensive property which he encloses. Similarly, in *Τὰ Φραγκλέικα*, the νεόπλουτος ξένος - who is ironically called Paliopoulos - is described as a:

«καινούργιον ἄρχοντα», ὅστις κανεὶς δὲν ἤξευρε πῶς εὑρέθη αἴφνης ἰδιοκτήτης εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος. Ἀλλ'ἦτο εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἡ «διὰ μαρτύρων ἀπόδειξις», αἱ «διεξαγωγαί», καὶ εἶχον φυτρώσει ἐσχάτως πολλοὶ μάρτυρες «ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος», καὶ τόσοι δικολάβοι ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ χωρίον (IV.449.5-9).

The parenthetical designation «καινούργιον ἄρχοντα» points to a contradiction in terms since a notable defines himself precisely through the longevity of his pedigree. Moreover, while a mystery surrounds the means of Paliopoulos' economic advancement (κανεὶς δὲν ἤξευρε πῶς εὑρέθη αἴφνης ἰδιοκτήτης), the ascendancy of the moneyed property owner is linked to his network of contacts cultivated from among the professional classes. Finally, while the verb φυτρώνω puns on Paliopoulos' social nurturing, as opposed to his agricultural endeavours as a landowner, the metaphor of cultivation also intimates a close link between the commercial milieu of the town, or the landscape of economic ventures, and the activities of farming.[18]

In *Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου*, the narrator comments on the economic predicaments of the landowner Frangoulas whose land is heavily mortgaged, like the fields of Konstantinos the παλαιὸς γεωργοτηματίας in *Λαμπριάτιμος ψάλτης* (II.528.25-29):

> Εἶτα ἦλθεν ὥρα, ὅπως καὶ τώρα καὶ πάντοτε συμβαίνει, ὁπότε οἱ ἐντόπιοι ἔλαβον ἀνάγκην τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τότε ἤρχισαν νὰ ὑποθηκεύουν τὰ κτήματα. Ἐωσότου παρῆλθε μία γενεά, ἢ μία καὶ ἡμίσεια, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς τοῦς δανειστάς, συμπαραλαβόντα μεθ'ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ κτήματα.

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18. For a discussion of the financial afflictions of the *arhon* class, see Sant Cassia (1992: 29-30).

Ἕως τότε δὲν εἶχε συλλογισθῆ τοιαῦτα πράγματα ὁ Φραγκούλης Φραγκούλας, οὔτε τὸν ἔμελε ποτέ του περὶ χρημάτων (IV.87.13-20).[19]

The juxtapositions between monetary interest (χρήματα) and land interests (κτήματα) are recurrent ones in Papadiamantis' fiction,[20] while money is implicitly linked here to the rise of the nation-state since the moneylenders and merchants insinuate themselves into the community during the turbulent years of the nascent state's evolution. The state as a territorial entity becomes the basic unit of economic development.[21] To a certain extent the upheaval alluded to in *Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου* relates to a pattern in Greece as a whole where "social mobility became increasingly common as the city lost its pronounced agrarian character". Numerous merchants settled in the capital and "they were characterised by the possession of large amounts of cash, rather than land" (Sant Cassia 1992: 69). The distinction between salaried income and self-employment is important in this context and is stressed in several texts, such as *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, where Steryios plays cards with the salaried officials of the local municipality.[22]

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19. Ironically, for all his insouciance about economic matters, Frangoulis Frangoulas' very name echoes a foreign denomination (φράγκο = franc).

20. In *Ἡ Χτυπημένη*, Yiannis' land is similarly mortgaged and threatened by lawyers (II.137-138), while in *Νεκρὸς ταξιδιώτης* the island's shipping industry is the victim of moneylenders (IV.343-344). The danger of the moneylenders is further alluded to in *Γιὰ τὴν περιφάνια* where the protagonist's land is in danger of being confiscated (III.210.13-16).

21. Nikos Svoronos notes, however, that Constantinople and not Athens was the economic capital of Greece throughout the nineteenth century (1975: 91). Debt is not only confined to individuals in Papadiamantis, but is also considered on a national level. See, for example, the comic passage in *Ὀλόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* where Alexandros Haravlos is asked why he is so pensive and replies: «Συλλογίζομαι, καπετάνιε, πῶς θὰ τὰ πληρώσουμε, τόσα ἑκατομμύρια ποὺ χρωστάει τὸ Ἔθνος!» (II.386.29-30).

22. In *Τὰ Δαιμόνια στὸ ρέμα* the narrator observes: Μὲ ἐμίσουν διότι ἤμην παπαδοπαίδι. Ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν τέκνα ναυτικῶν, πορθμέων, ναυπηγῶν, γεωργῶν. Οἱ πατέρες ἐθαλασσοπνίγοντο ἢ ἵδρωναν πολὺ γιὰ νὰ βγάλουν τὸ ψωμί (III.243.1-3).

Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου, however, cannot be read simply as a diatribe against the rise of a mercantile class, or as an elegy to the demise of a landed, aristocratic class. The narrator's observations about money are included in the framework of Frangoulas' personal biography, while the protagonist's financial anxieties (οἰκονομικαὶ στενοχωρίαι IV.86.27, 90.2) are closely connected to his estrangement from his wife Siniora and the death of his daughter Koumbo. Frangoulas' failure to come to terms with the nature of monetary exchange is thus related to his inability to communicate with his own family and to run his household. Monetary and emotional exchanges in this text are inextricably bound up. If the narrative begins with the description of ἐρείπια, λείψανα παλαιᾶς κατοικίας ἀνθρώπων (IV.85.1), the derelict houses intimate financial ruin and significantly, the dwellings of the old town were abandoned after 1821 - at the very period, that is, when the moneylenders began arriving on the island (IV.89.2-4). At the same time, the ruins stand for the relinquishing of those family values which the house (οικία) embodies. The parallel between Frangoulas' privation of property and the loss of his daughter is also developed throughout the text, while Frangoulas' afflicted olive trees (IV.90.4-12) are implicitly compared to his dying daughter.

In Papadiamantis' texts there are frequent references to the increase in the bestowing of cash dowries (cf. Sant Cassia 1992). In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, for example, the narrator comments on the substitution of land for μετρητὴν προῖκα (III.434.8-9). In *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου*, Kratira's fields are heavily mortgaged to raise the requisite dowry for her brother-in-law who insists on a down-payment in cash:

> Τῆς ἔδωκες τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν κτημάτων, κ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ γαμβρὸς ἀπήτει καὶ μετρητά, ὑπεθήκευσε τὸ

Ironically, then, the salaried priest - like the merchant and moneylender - does not earn his money by the sweat of his labour.

ἄλλο ἥμισυ εἰς ἐγχωρίους τοκιστάς, διὰ νὰ δανεισθῇ τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ (III.608.6-8).

The theme of debt and money recurs in *Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Δράκου* since the reputedly illegitimate Kotsos visits the cave in order to retrieve the buried treasure and save his aunt: Μὲ αὐτὰ τὰ φλωριὰ θὰ ἐξεχρέωνε πρῶτον τὰ κτήματα τῆς θείας του, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χρέος τὴν ἔκαμινε νὰ στενάζῃ (III.617.24-26). Kotsos dreams of returning from commercial ventures in the Black Sea with the hold of his ship laden with drachmas.

If men such as Zahos in *Οἱ Λίρες του Ζάχου* are married for their money, the institution of the cash dowry represents a "commoditisation" of marriage. As the narrator observes of a rapacious dowry-hunter in *Αποκριάτικη νυχτιά*: εἶχεν ἰδεῖ εἰς ἐμπορικὸν τὰς δύο ἀδελφάς (II.304-305). In *Ἡ Φόνισσα* the narrator asserts that if a suitable dowry is not found the girl may as well be shut up in a museum: Ἂς τὰς ἔστελνε στὸ Μουσεῖον (III.434.11). On the one hand the allusion to the museum implies that an unmarried woman is socially redundant and of no more use than an ἀντικείμενον περιεργείας (II.524.21-22). Ironically, however, a museum is also a place where valuable artifacts are deposited and stands for "the accumulation of excessive and therefore unusable capital".[23] Notions of worth and value are thus undermined. The museum as a repository of treasures is played off against the financial assets attached to a marriageable girl. The "commiditisation" of relations is also suggested in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* by the recurrent use of the noun πράγμα. Before she dies, for example, Frangoyannou's mother loses her faculties and is described by her daughter as an object or thing (σὰ πρᾶμα). Earlier the narrator alludes to the νέαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων (III.426.12) and when speaking of the new breed of merchants and professional men who have come to the island, he observes that they brought with them νέας, ἐλευθέρας θεωρίας περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων (III.480.33). The new age, as Asa Briggs remarked

23.Paul Valéry, quote in Reilly (1993: 94).

of the late nineteenth century, was the age of "things" (1990).[24]

Many of these issues are raised in the satirical story *Φιλόστοργοι* [1895] which begins with an account of Kira Prapo's financial calculations as to how much profit she will get from selling her eggs to her godmother (III.95). Having sold her the eggs, Kira Prapo complains of her exhaustion, yet when she is given money for the bus ride home (ὁ νοννός...τῆς ἔδωκε δύο ἢ τρεῖς δεκάρες, διὰ νὰ πληρώση τὸ λεωφορεῖον III.96.29-32), she returns on foot in order to save it (ἐγύριζε πεζή III.97.4). Later the narrator recounts how, in order to calm a lost child, he gave the child a δεκάραν (III.98.6). The rest of the text focuses on the circumstances of two fathers, Dimitris Horianos and Barba Steryios Parkiotis, who have both adopted children from the Νηπιακὸν Ὀρφανοτροφεῖον (III.101.11). Adoption is portrayed here as a commercial transaction since the tight-fisted director of the orphanage (who, the narrator observes, has ἀσημένια δόντια III.101.23) attempts to bargain down the sum of cash to be paid for the upkeep of the infants:

> Ἐπροστάτευε τὰ ἐσωτερικά, καὶ δὲν ἤθελε νὰ δώση παραπάνω ἀπὸ 25 δραχμὰς εἰς τον μπαρμπα-Στέργιον. Τέλος ἐπείσθη νὰ δώση τὰς 30 (III.101.25-27).

The narrator concludes ironically by juxtaposing the word debt (χρέος), which also means duty, with the financial reward (τὰ βρεθίκια) which Kira Prapo has earned for finding a lost child (III.103.4-7). The noun χρέος intimates both moral value and monetary debt, thereby highlighting the ambivalence of a moral and monetary vocabulary.[25] In short,

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24.The noun πράγμα in Papadiamantis' vocabulary often carries negative, or at least threatening, connotations. See, for example, *Ἡ Φαρμακολύτρια* (III.306.31, 308.27).

25.There is abundant ethnographic literature on the moral/economic ambivalence of τιμή. See, classically, Campbell (1970: 268). The semantic ambiguity of τιμή is explored by Konstantinos Theotokis (1872-1923) in his novel *Ἡ Τιμὴ καὶ τὸ χρῆμα* [1912], where the heroine, Rini,

therefore, *Φιλόστοργοι* explores the monetary transactions which sustain human relations, demonstrating how social duty is determined by prospects of financial gain. At the same time, the narrator points to the devaluation of words such as χρέος which "slowly lose, like worn coins, the value engraved on them" (de Certeau 1988: 104).

Little mention is made in Papadiamantis of the state's official capital institutions such as the National Bank of Greece. The texts are nevertheless pervaded with allusions to moneylenders and to the demise of the landed class. If moneylenders threaten the established landed class, they are also involved in the acquisition of land, like the protagonist of *Γαγάτος καὶ τ'ἄλογα*. The new order, inaugurated after 1821, signals the arrival of an aggressive agrarian capitalism which is inextricably bound up with the prevalence of wage earning bureaucrats. Thus, while Thanasis' family in *'Η Τύχη ἀπ'τὴν 'Αμέρικα* are anxious to establish relations among the ἐμπορικὴν τάξιν, ἥτις ἐξήσκει ἐπιρροὴν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, κ'ἐξευγένιζε διὰ τῶν χρημάτων, πλάττουσα δημάρχους, συμβούλους, the bridegroom, Grigoris, is equally keen to acquire capital for his business (III.342.7-15). On the other hand, in *'Η Χαλασοχώρηδες* commercial interests and land are juxtaposed. As Konstantinos Kalovolos, the shopkeeper asserts: 'Αλλ'εἶναι μεγάλη διαφορὰ νὰ εἶναι τις ἀγωγιάτης ἁπλῶς ἢ ξωμερίτης, ὅπως οἱ δύο, ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ ἔχῃ μαγαζί (II.403.9-11).

While Papadiamantis' texts thus explore the binary opposition between land and capital, they also expose the rhetorical nature of this antithesis. If money as a form of exchange is linked to natural production and as a tropic system to language, land itself is figuratively associated with profit and with just return. As Old Stefanis remarks

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becomes the victim of her mother's acquisitive drive. If money threatens the individual's moral integrity, Theotokis' novel examines how the acquistion of cash becomes the motivating force in human relations. For a discussion of the term χρέος in relation to the reciprocity of exchanges and moral obligations, see Hirschon (1989: 172-173).

in *Ἡ Τύχη ἀπ' τὴν Ἀμέρικα*, quoting a biblical proverb by way of a lamentation for his son: Ἄλλοι σπέρνανε, κι ἄλλοι θερίζουνε (III.352.24).

Divine and Monetary Economies

Money in Papadiamantis is repeatedly associated with illness and death. Significantly, in the light of the previous section, money is described metaphorically as a pest which afflicts the land, a harbinger of suffering. Debt, for example, multiplies like caterpillars:

> καὶ παρηγορία της, ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀπαντοχή της, ὅτι θὰ κατώρθωνεν ἐπὶ τέλους, ἀπὸ χρόνον εἰς χρόνον, νὰ ἐξοφλήσῃ αὐτὸ τὸ χρέος - τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκολλοῦσε ὡς ψώρα καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὡς ἡ κάμπη εἰς τὰ φυτὰ (III.607.15-18).

The ambiguity of the narrator's double simile lies in his conflation of debt, and therefore money, with substance. Money, this passage implies, even if it leads to disagreeable and tragic eventualities, is a natural phenomenon. Cash, like the landscape itself, "is effaced and naturalized into the object" (Bryson 1981: 16). At the same time, however, the narrator's overtly metaphorical language *denaturalizes* money by drawing attention to its rhetoricity. Paradoxically, too, the blight that afflicts the crops impoverishes the landowner and compels him to turn to moneylenders, who are themselves described as a social canker or plague. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, the cash dowry is similarly likened to a blight: εἶχε κολλήσει καὶ ἄλλη ψώρα (III.434.5-6).[26]

The relationship between money, time and death is explored in some depth in *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, where Barba

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26. In *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον* the narrator describes card-playing as a disease: εἶχε κολλήσει καὶ ἡ ψώρα αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον, νὰ μάθουν οἱ νέοι νὰ παίζουν χαρτιά (II.242.15-16). See also *Λαμπριάτικος ψάλτης* (II.528.27).

Steryios is obliged to pawn his wife's dowry to the moneylender, appropriately named Argiros Sirmatenios, in order to raise the requisite cash for his infant son's funeral (II.254-255). There is an implicit pun in this text between the noun λεπτά which signifies both minutes and money in popular usage:

> 'Αλλ' ἐντὸς ὀλίγων λεπτῶν τῆς ὥρας, ἔβγαλεν ἀπὸ τὴν τσέπην ὅσα κέρματα εἶχεν, ἄνω τῆς δραχμῆς, καὶ τὰ ἔχασεν ὅλα (II.246.20-21).

As Barba Steryios gambles away his earnings (λεπτά) playing cards in the tavern, he is also playing with valuable time (λεπτά) with which to save his son's life. The linkage between time and money is repeatedly stressed. Thus, the secretary of the justice's office incites Steryios to continue with his gambling by exclaiming: Παῖξε νὰ περάσ'ἡ ὥρα...Νὰ πάρῃς τὰ λεπτά σου πίσω (II.246.32-33). Similarly, while the name of the shopkeeper, Moreyios (literally translated as Babyson), echoes the protagonist's own name and underlines Steryios' misplaced time and money - which might have been spent on his afflicted son - the name of his deceased daughter Hriso (Gold) intimates a further relationship between money and death. Significantly, too, and in contrast to Steryios, the civil servants are salaried. As the narrator remarks of Aristidis Manganopoulos in a rhetorical question that brackets life with money and time: ἀλλὰ πῶς νὰ ζήσῃ τις μὲ ἑξῆντα δραχμὰς τὸν μῆνα; (II.245.18).

In *'Η Τύχη ἀπ' τὴν Αμέρικα* the narrator observes that Thanasis earned his money by digging for silver. As his mother Asimina remarks:

> Τόσα χρόνια ἤτανε βαθιὰ στὴ γῆς, ἐκεῖ ποὺ βγάζουν τ'ἀσήμι, ἀκοῦς! βαθιὰ κάτω, σὰν τυφλοπόντικας, νὰ σκάφτῃ, μὲς στὰ λαγούμια, τ'ἀκοῦς!... 'Αφῆστέ το ν'ἀνασάνῃ, νὰ πάρῃ

ἀέρα ποὺ ἔλυωσε στὸν ἀπάν'κόσμο (III.347.13-15).[27]

Notions of digging further recall Thanasis' aunt digging her grave and Afentra's descent into the tomb as a young girl. Associations with death are underlined by the expression ἀπάν'κόσμο which implies a resurrection from the grave of the mines. The sickly yellow of money is compared to the deathly yellow hue of his illnness:

> Δὲν ἐκιτρίνισαν μόνες οἱ λίρες τόσα χρόνια, εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Νοτίου 'Αμερικῆς, ὅπως ἔλεγεν ἄλλοτε ὁ μαστρο-Στεφανὴς· ἐκιτρίνισε κι ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Θανάσης, ὁ υἱός του (III.341.26-28).[28]

As the narrator has already informed the reader, Thanasis' gold was dug up in a country rife with disease: ὑπῆρχε χρυσίον πολύ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακαὶ νόσοι πλειότεραι καὶ διαφθορὰ καὶ κακουργία μεγίστη (III.335.32-33). In *'Η Τύχη ἀπ'τὴν*

27.There is a pun here between the mother's name (Asimina) and the word for silver (ασήμι). See, in this context, the sorceress' comments - she is called Asimenia - in *Θέρος-Ἔρος*: -Γιατί μὲ εἶπαν 'Ασημένια, εἶπε μέσα της, γιατὶ ἤξευραν πὼς ἤθελα μὲ τὸ δίκιο μου ἀσήμωμα. Τὸ ὄνομα τ'ἀνθρώπου, προσέθηκεν, ἔχει νὰ κάμῃ μὲ τὸ ριζικό του (II.199.18-20). As Saunier has observed, in a paper which discusses the symbolic dimension of names in *'Η Φαρμακολύτρια*: Τὰ ὀνόματα ποὺ δίνει ὁ Παπαδιαμάντης στοὺς ἥρωές του εἶναι πολὺ συχνὰ φορτωμένα μὲ νόημα, καὶ μιὰ συστηματικὴ μελέτη τῆς ὀνομαστικῆς τοῦ συγγραφέα θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ φέρει σπουδαῖα ἀποτελέσματα γιὰ τὴν κατανόηση τοῦ ἔργου του (1989/1990: 149).

28.Yellow in Papadiamantis is evocative of both death and money. See, for example, the account in *'Ολόγυρα στὴ λίμνη* of the yellow skeletons which were dug up (τάφοι μετὰ κιτρίνων σκελετῶν) under the foundations of a chapel, together with ἑκατὸν ἑνετικὰ φλωρία (II.380.11-14). Similarly, in *'Ο 'Αβασκαμὸς τοῦ 'Αγᾶ*, the sorceress tells the Agha that he looks κίτρινος σὰν το φλωρί (III.144.21). In *'Ο Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου*, the leaves of the dying olive trees are yellow (εἶχαν κιτρινίσει καὶ μαυρίσει αἱ ἐλαῖαι IV.90.6), while the λεπτὸν σχοινίον which Mahoula winds around the chapel is also ὁλοκίτρινο (III.306.6). For a discussion of Mahoula's associations with death, see Saunier (1990). On the "hated sign of yellow", see Catteau (1989: 408-411).

Αμέρικα death and sickness underpin marriage, as much as cash.[29]

There is a close association of money and death in *T'Αγγέλιασμα* where the protagonist Kapetan Yiorgakis is mortally sick and compared to the millionaire Rothschild in Paris (IV.399.1-2). The narrator remarks that Yiorgakis has placed fifty thousand drachmas in the National Bank in Athens so that his children will not go short when he dies (IV.398.15-17). A friend finds the protagonist in his hotel room in the capital with a loaded revolver on the table and whith his cash stashed under his pillow. Thus, money is associated, here, with death, illness and an estranging urban environment (IV.398.18-23).

People also make money out of illness in *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα*.[30] Here, as Chapter 4 has shown, the narrative plays with notions of free circulation and confinement. Cholera is brought to Greece by sailors who are then confined and therefore subject to exploitation by the local population:

Φυσικά, ἡ μεγάλη πληθὺς τῶν ὑπὸ κάθαρσιν ταξιδιωτῶν ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι πτωχοί. Ὀλίγοι μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἦσαν εὔποροι. Οἱ κερδοσκόποι ἀπέθετον τὰ ἐμπορεύματά των εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τῆς ἀπωτάτης ἀκτῆς τῆς ἐρημονήσου, ἐλάμβανον τὰ λεπτά των καὶ ἔφευγον. Ἡ χολέρα δυνατὸν νὰ κολλᾷ εἰς κάθε πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ'εἰς τὰ χρήματα ὄχι (II.572.4-8).

29.As noted earlier, Afentra's fiancee Grigoris belongs to the ἐμπορικὴν τάξιν and views the marriage in terms of his business: ἐσκέφθη ὅτι τὰ χρήματα...θὰ ἦσαν καλὰ διὰ ν'αὐξήση τὸ ἐμπόριόν του, διὰ νὰ πληρώση τὰ χρέη του καὶ ἀνοίξη περισσοτέρας πιστώσεις (III.342.8-11). A further connection is made between Grigoris' financial ambitions and his emulation of European customs (e.g. III.342.22-24).

30.A comic reversal of this situation occurs in *Τὰ Τελευταῖα τοῦ γέρου*, where the protagonist, who is obsessed with money, parodies the traditional bargaining with Haros when he demands payment from Death (IV.581.20-21).

The flow of money - aptly expressed in Greek as το ρευστό - is here contrasted to the breakdown of social relations.

One of the most intricate examples of monetary symbolism occurs in the novella *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, where the narrator notes in some detail the protagonist's acquisition of capital. In the second chapter, the narrator stresses Frangoyannou's economic aptitude:

> Τότε ἡ Φραγκογιαννού, ἥτις μὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ κόσμου ἐγένετο πολὺ σοφωτέρα, εἶχεν ἀξιωθῇ, ὡς ἔλεγε μετριφρόνως, ν'ἀποκτήσῃ κι αὐτὴ ἕνα σπιτάκι δικό της, χάρις εἰς τὴν ἐπιδεξιότητά της καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν της (III.426.33-36).

Frangoyannou's judicious management of the household is repeatedly emphasized by the narrator (III.429.30, 432.17) as she assumes the financial supervision of the family from her husband who has no head for figures; a fact which is twice repeated (e.g. III.421.1-7, 429.12-17). The use of the verb ἀξιωθῇ in the above passage however is important. It points to the shared vocabulary between monetary and moral evaluation, αξία meaning price, asset or value in both a commercial and a human sense. The ambiguous sense recurs in the narrative, when Frangoyannou's son writes to his mother from prison in Halkida and declares ἐγὼ εἶμαι ἄξιος καὶ μπορῶ νὰ βγάλω λεπτὰ (III.450-451). In turn Mouros' assertion anticipates the murderess' subsequent confession as she does not dare to enter church: δὲν εἶμαι ἄξια (III.457.28).

A further linkage between a divine and monetary economy is implied by the repeated use of the noun οικονομία. According to St. Paul, for example, "we are to be regarded as Christ's subordinates and as stewards of the secrets of God" (Cor 4:1).[31] These relations between divine and monetary

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31.For definitions of the terms οικονόμος and οικονομία, see the respective entries in the *Theological Dictionary of the*

economies are drawn out in the phonetic similarity between the nouns κρίμα and χρήμα, as Kabanahmakis asks the murderess: Τί κρῖμα ἔκαμες; Frangoyannou replies: 'Εγώ; κρίματα πολλά...(III.506.19-20).[32] Later the murderess dreams that her father is handing her coins with a portrait of the Virgin and the inscription "Patrona Bavariae" (III.488). There is a pun here between notions of head and capital, while the impression of the Virgin also emphasizes the link between money and religious conceptions of worth.[33] At the same time, this episode suggests, as Farinou-Malamatari has observed, that her victims are indistinguishable at the level of the signifier as well as the signified from emoluments in kind and money: Τα θύματά της εξισώνονται με απολαυές σε είδος ή σε χρήμα (1987: 62). They are relegated to "the floating and generalised convertibility of currencies amongst themselves" (Baudrillard 1993: 23), while the appearance of the dead faces on the coins intimates the death of referential value. It also suggests what Baudrillard calls "the exchange value of death". In return for their deaths, the murderess believes that she gives them eternal life στὸν ἄλλο κόσμο (III.495.7).

The murderess' spare cash comes from getting hold of her husband's wages in various ways (his nickname means the Bill or Account). Moreover, Frangoyannou's purloining of her father's money and of her mother's hidden hoard is prompted

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New Testament, edited by Gerhard Friedrich and translated and edited by Geoffrey W.Bromley, 10 vols (1964-1976). While the term οικονόμος, or steward, is used metaphorically as a figure for apostolic authority and knowledge (the minister of Christ or the steward of the mysteries of God), οικονομία is employed for the apostolic office and connotes salvation. See also, Shell (1978: 104-107). In Papadiamantis' text *Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου*, the narrator plays on the different meanings of the term (IV.93.21-27).

32.There is an even clearer pun on κρίμα and χρήμα in *'Η Τύχη ἀπ'τὴν 'Αμέρικα* where Thanasis' mother cries: Εἶναι κρῖμα ἀπ'τὸ Θεό...Τὶς χίλιες δραχμὲς θὰ τὶς δώσῃ αὔριο (III.347.10-11).

33.Frangoyannou calls upon Christ to put an end to the poverty that has resulted from the failure of the olive harvest (III.457.33-34).

by the inadequacy of her dowry. Thus, the money which she pilfers is implicitly contrasted to the land which she was *not* bequeathed. Yet, paradoxically, as the narrator observes, her mother's hidden money has accrued from the profits of produce sold from the land: τὰ προϊόντα τῶν κτημάτων (III.431.3). The deathly connotations of money are further intimated by the black headscarf in which the coins are wrapped, δεμένα, as the narrator puts it, «σὰν σκυλιὰ» (III.431.1). Hoarding becomes an equivalent of death, since the basis of monetary worth lies in its reciprocity (cf. Crump 1990: 96-99) and its importance as a link between the present and the future.[34]

Frangoyannou is also likened by the narrator to a moneylender and shopkeeper:

> Πλήν, εἰς τοὺς μικροὺς τόπους «δὲν ὑπάρχουσιν εἰδικοί, ἀλλὰ πολυτεχνῖται» καὶ ὅπως ἕνας μπακάλης κωμοπόλεως εἶναι συγχρόνως καὶ ἔμπορος ψιλικῶν, καὶ φαρμακοπώλης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοκογλύφος, οὕτω καὶ μία καλὴ ὑφάντρια, ὁποία ἦτο ἡ Φραγκογιαννού, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε νὰ κάμνῃ συγχρόνως καὶ τὴν μαμμὴν ἢ τὴν ψευδογιάτρισσαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἐπαγγέλματα ἀκόμη νὰ ἐξασκῇ, ἤρκει νὰ εἶναι ἐπιτηδεία. Καὶ ἡ Φραγκογιαννοὺ ἦτο ἐπιτηδειοτάτη μεταξὺ ὅλων τῶν γυναικῶν (III.431-432).

Once again there is ambiguity in the use of the noun τοκογλύφος, for τόκος signifies both an offspring, or child, and interest in a commercial context. In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, Frangoyannou confuses ideas of monetary and human generation,[35] just as they are in the story *Ἀγάπη στὸν*

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34. Thus, J.M. Keynes asserted [1936] that "the importance of money essentially flows from its being a link between the present and the future". Quoted in Crump (1990: 99).

35. The identification of monetary offspring with natural offspring is explored by Aristotle in the *Politics*. Thus he remarks: "...usury is most reasonably hated because one's possessions derive from money itself and not from that for which it was supplied. For it came into being for the sake

κρεμνὸ, where a protagonist borrows money from a moneylender to purchase a bull, but subsequently defaults on repayment of the loan:

> Ὁ Γιάννης τοῦ Θεοδόση τῆς Κυπαρισσῶς πρὸ τεσσάρων ἢ πέντε ἐτῶν εἶχεν ἀγοράσει ζεῦγος μὲ χρήματα δανεικά, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχε «σηκώσει» ἀπ'τὸν κὺρ Μακοῦκον, τὸν τραπεζίτην ἢ τοκιστὴν τοῦ τόπου. Τὰ ζῷα ἐγεννοβόλησαν κ'ηὐξήθησαν, ὥστε ἔγινεν οἰκογένεια μὲ τέκνα καὶ μ'ἐγγόνια μέχρι τότε. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Γιάννης τῆς Κυπαρισσῶς δὲν εἶχε κατορθώσει ἕνεκα τῆς ἀφορίας, τῆς θεομηνίας, τῶν καρπῶν, ἢ καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς ἰδίας ἀναξιότητός του, νὰ πληρώσῃ ἀκεραίους τοὺς τόκους τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν εἰς τὸν κὺρ Μακοῦκον, οὗτος ἐπεχείρησε κατάσχεσιν, καὶ ἤθελε νὰ «ἐκποιήσῃ» τὰ ζῷα διὰ νὰ λάβῃ τόκους καὶ κεφάλαιον (IV.484-485).

Sexual generation is contrasted here to the unnatural production of money. Similarly, in *Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου* the narrator plays on notions of usury and natural reproduction:

> Τόσα «ὑποστατικά», τόσα «μούλκια», τόσο «βιός», ἀγύριστα κτήματα, σχεδὸν τσιφλίκια ἠπειλοῦντο νὰ περιέλθωσιν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν τοκογλύφων. - Ἐγέννα ἢ ὄχι ἡ γῆ, ἐκαρποφόρουν ἢ ὄχι τὰ δένδρα, ὁ τόκος δὲν ἔπαυε. Τὰ κεφάλαια «ἔτικτον». Ἔπαυσε νὰ τίκτῃ ἡ γόνιμος (ὅπως λέγει ὁ Ἅγ. Βασίλειος), ἀφοῦ τὰ ἄγονα ἤρχισαν κ'ἐξηκολούθουν νὰ τίκτουν (IV.90.7-12).

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of exchange, but interest actually creates more of it. And it is from this that it gets its name [*tokos*]: offspring are similar to those who give birth to them, and interest is born of money. So of the sorts of business this is the most contrary to nature" (1984: 49-50). For a discussion of Aristole and usury, see Shell (1982: 50).

Like his mother, Mouros in *Ἡ Φόνισσα* is adept at making money, which he spends on gunpowder. In the row he has with Frangoyannou, in which he stabs his sister Amersa, he alleges that his mother has stolen from him: Παρεπονεῖτο ὅτι ἡ γραῖα τοῦ εἶχε κλέψει λεπτὰ ἀπὸ τὴν τσέπην (III.437.19-20). Frangoyannou herself employs money symbolism. For example, she laments parental expenditure on medical treatment for their children when it is all in vain, since they will eventually have to provide crippling dowries:

> Καὶ χάνουν τὸν νοῦν των οἱ ταλαίπωροι γονεῖς, καὶ πληρώνουν τόσον ἀκριβὰ τοὺς ἡμιαγύρτας ἰατροὺς καὶ τὸ τριωβολιμαῖα φάρμακα, διὰ νὰ σώσουν τὸ παιδί τους (III.446.30-32).

In the murderess' eyes children are construed in terms of investment, an idea reinforced later when in her dreams the coins take on the heads of the children she has murdered. Her view here is equivalent to a usurious relationship, since offspring (τόκοι) are conceived as sources of self-interest. Yet when she has spent the money she has collected to go to Halkida to see her son (ὀλίγα χρήματα III.451.7), she does not hesitate to sell her medical skills to parents on the road (III.452. 31-34, 461.6). Similarly, on the mountainside she plans to sell her skills, bartering her services in return for shelter and food (e.g.III.489.23).

Throughout the novella Frangoyannou exploits and subverts the notion of exchange, thereby parodying the ritual described by Marcel Mauss [1925], in which the acceptance of a gift automatically entails the acceptance of any number of well-recognized social obligations. Consistently, the murderess undermines the reciprocity upon which social intercourse depends. In the first place, Frangoyannou's laconic speech - her economic use of words - parallels her hoarding tendencies and talents for saving. The murderess

rarely answers her interlocutors, but often repeats their own questions, thereby subverting notions of linguistic exchange (e.g. III.422.7-8, 10-11, 423.5-6).

When she persuades Portetena, the widow of the man her son Mouros has murdered, to accompany her to Halkida, Frangoyannou inverts the obligations of exchange. Her son's murderous act is construed by her as a "service" for which she demands a favour (III.451.6-21). Mouros declares that he can make up to his victim's family by marrying the dead man's daughter and earning money (III.450-451). In her flight from the authorities Frangoyannou ruthlessly trades on her services to others and their unpaid debts to her. Thus, she is helped by Marousa in return for an earlier favour she has rendered in terminating Marousa's pregnancy and thus avoiding scandal (III.478.2-3). When she visits Yiannis the gardener's house she does so on the pretext of selling medicinal herbs (ἐσυλλογίσθη νὰ τοῦ πουλήση δούλευσιν, μὲ τὰ βότανα III.461.6-7). After she has pushed both Yiannis' children into the well she pretends that she is helping to save them. At the same time, she is let into the huts on the mountainside on the pretext of her medical skills. Indeed, as the murderess herself expresses it both to Yiannis' wife (III.464.24) and to Liringos' wife, her presence is a "gift" from God: -Ὁ Θεὸς μ'ἔστειλε, εἶπε μετὰ πεποιθήσεως ἡ Γιαννού (III.497.10). Finally, as the gendarmes are closing in on her, Frangoyannou, as the arch-manipulator of exchange, attempts to take advantage of her services to others. She recognizes one of her pursuers as a villager who she has treated for asthma and the thought passes through her mind that she might expect some mercy in return (see Chapter 1).

In *Ἡ Φόνισσα*, therefore, the narrator explores the breakdown of social obligations which are involved in the act of exchange. Frangoyannou undermines the basis of trust, or social reciprocity, upon which all acts of exchange depend, whether services in kind, linguistic, or monetary

exchanges. At the same time, analogies of investment and production point to a deep-rooted ambiguity between moral worth and monetary value. Just as Frangoyannou misreads religious texts, so she misapprehends monetary symbolism, confusing one with the other. In so doing the murderess reveals the conventionality of money as a symbol "since it is stable so long as a power is in place to penalize misreadings" (Smith 1993: 89). At a time when the accumulation and deployment of capital profoundly altered Greek society and its manner of reproduction (cf. Sant Cassia 1992), Papadiamantis' texts explore the implications of what Baudrillard calls the demise of symbolic exchange and the advent of a semiotic order (cf. 1993).

Conclusion

Money in Papadiamantis is a floating signifer, an arbitrary sign. It is associatcd with writing and knowledge, since education is purchasecl with cash (e.g. II.245.28), whilemoney, like knowledge, can be hidden. At the same time, money is read by protagonists and is susceptible to multiple interpretations; it is linked to dreams, stories and traditions since it is a fiction - assuming a phantom value. Moreover, Papadiamantis' stories often expose the arbitrariness, or contingency of cash as a sign which attempts to pass itself off as a natural and therefore unhistorical phcnomcnon. Finally, the "senseless circulations of the monetary sign", like the ticking of clock-time, are associated with duplicity and even madness. Papadiamantis' texts also intimate, however, that money is a means of exchange and distribution. It is one way in which people imagine their community and construct their identities. As Argiros, the appositely named moneylender, declares in *Ὁ Πολιτισμὸς εἰς τὸ χωρίον*, lose your money and you lose yourself: Κι ὅταν ἐσύ, κατάλαβες, εἶσαι ἀνάξιος καὶ χαλνᾷς τὰ λεπτά, μοναχός σου χαλνιέσαι (II.253.28-30). In

short, Papadiamantis' texts suggest that "even the most empirical procedures operate within the parameters provided by the human imagination" (Watts 1990: 195). Members of a community share a currency in much the same way as they share a language which represents, to use Anderson's description of the sovereign state, "the gauge and emblem of freedom" (1992: 77). This analogy is drawn in *'Ο 'Αμερικάνος*, where the protagonist's ignorance of Greek is paralleled by his unfamiliarity with the local currency: - Δὲν ξέρω ἐγὼ μονέδα τοῦ τόπου, εἶπεν ὁ ἄγνωστος (II.265.11).

The status of money is therefore ambivalent. If society depends upon money, money is paradoxically anti-social and death-tainted. In the present chapter an attempt has been made to show how Papadiamantis' texts explore money as a constructed system, focusing on the relationship between territory and economy and on the interaction between symbolic exchange and monetary economy. Frequently the texts expose the largely fictive opposition which society engineers between a traditional world devoid of money, and hence moral and collective, and a modern society dominated by the cash nexus and shifting loyalties (Sant Cassia: 252).[36] On one level money itself is conceived as a victim of those who abuse it and acquire it for its own sake. Thus coins are described in *'Ο 'Αμερικάνος* as falling like so many sparrows into a trap:

> 'Ο κὺρ Δημήτρης ὁ Μπέρδες ἔτρεχεν ἐμπρός, ὀπίσω....ἐνθουσιῶν ἀπὸ τὸν κρότον τῶν κερμάτων, τῶν πιπτόντων διὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν ὀπῆς, ὡς τὰ στρουθία εἰς τὴν παγίδα, εἰς τὸ καλῶς κλειδωμένον συρτάρι του (II.257.12-18).

On the other hand the institution of a fixed-price monetary economy is construed as a murderous trap, itself ensnaring its victims in a fine web, like the net Old Feretzelis casts

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36. In this context, see Parry and Block (1989) who explore the conventional notion of money as a disruptive force in 'traditional' societies.

in *Ἔρωτας στὰ χιόνια*, διὰ νὰ συλλάβῃ τὶς ἀθῷες καρδιές, ὡς μισοπαγωμένα κοσσύφια (III.107.23-24). These similes underline the extent to which nature and culture are implicated in each other. Landscapes and economies, Papadiamantis' fiction intimates, are constructed by agents who, like Feretzelis' quarries, "find themselves inevitably caught up in a web of circumstances - economic, social, cultural and political" (Duncan and Ley 1993: 329) that provides a context for their action and which, in turn, they help shape.

CONCLUSION

"Poets", William Hoskins remarked at the beginning of his history of the English landscape, "make the best topographers" (1977: 17). Generally, this is a view upheld by critics of Papadiamantis, who long ago noted the centrality of place in his fiction, and linked it to the poetic characteristics (ποιητικότητα) of his work (cf. Politou-Marmarinou 1987).[1] In the present study an attempt has been made to analyse the engagement of Papadiamantis' texts with social and cultural perceptions of space, and to show how his stories explore the cultural role of landscape during a period of political and social upheaval in Greece. During this period previously isolated communities were being woven into the fabric of a national social and cultural life, while Greek politics was dominated by irredentist aspirations. At a time when civil society and the state were converging, Papadiamantis' texts investigate the ways in which "dramatically transformed social groups, environments and social contexts, called for new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations" (Hobsbawm 1993: 263).

In a recent paper on ethographic literature in Greece, Mackridge has described the aesthetically motivated textualization of a social milieu and its endowment with imaginative, symbolic and mythic features (1992: 148). Textualization, here, is identified exclusively with a literary process, thereby intimating that such textualizing practices are confined to literary discourse. In contrast to such an analysis, the present thesis has drawn upon

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1. Palamas was the first critic [1899] to draw attention to the poetic quality of Papadiamantis' prose, which he saw as inextricably bound up with the writer's preoccupations with landscape: Ἡ Μοῦσα τοῦ Παπαδιαμάντη μᾶς ὁδηγεῖ στὸ γνώριμο χῶμα ποὺ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ φτωχὸς ἅγιος· ἀλλὰ τὸ χῶμα αὐτὸ μοσχοβολᾷ (1991: 57).

literary, anthropological and geographical studies of place, in order to demonstrate how a literary work's engagement with topography cannot be severed from society's other textualizing practices.

This thesis has argued that the term textuality must be extended into a general hermeneutics, since literary texts are not hermetically sealed from the broader milieu out of which they originate. To contend that they are is to posit literature "as the ruin of all reference, the cemetery of communication" (Eagleton 1992: 146). As LaCapra has observed, "textual processes cannot be confined within the bindings of a book" (1983: 26). As it happened, Papadiamantis' stories were never published in book form during the author's lifetime. Instead, as Palamas commented, they remained νομαδικὰ καὶ ἄστεγα (1979: 35), scattered in the pages of newspapers and magazines; inextricably bound up in a mesh of other literary texts, news items and photographs. The stories thus remained inseparable from the wider cultural context within which they were read.

Papadiamantis' preoccupation with place has often been viewed as evidence of the writer's topophilia and topophobia, his fiction being construed as a series of poetic reveries stimulated by his emotional attachment to Skiathos and his alienation from the polluted metropolis - ὁ τόπος τῆς καταδίκης (IV.578.16-17) (e.g. Glezos 1981: 26-27).[2] In contrast to such readings, the present study has attempted to demonstrate the extent to which Papadiamantis' fiction explores the rootedness of human activity in spatial and temporal networks. His stories investigate the central role assigned to landscape in shaping and consolidating identity, as well as in the social, political and cultural constitution of society. In a period when emphasis was

2.The term topopholia (*topophilie*) was originally coined by the phenomenologist Bachelard [1957] in his analysis of the positive values invested by individuals in space (1989: 17). See Yi-Fu Tuan who extended the term in his investigations of the symbolic, aesthetic dimension of place, to encompass the totality of imaginative experiences which geographical environments define (1974, 1979).

placed on geographical definitions of the nation, Papadiamantis' texts reveal the ideological assumptions which underpin prevailing spatial perceptions, as well as the intimate relationship between territory and community.

If anthropologists and geographers have borrowed extensively from literary theory and engaged with works of literature as texts that reveal "the environmental values and perceptions of a culture" (Tuan 1978: 205), the present study makes use of reciprocal borrowings from the social sciences. Anthropological studies of Greece, for example, have focused on the importance of the physical environment in the construction and perpetuation of community. In her discussion of the inheritance practices on the pseudonymous Aegean island of Nisos, for example, Margaret Kenna notes that:

> [the] most striking features of the island landscape - houses, fields, graves, and ossuries - are the physical expression of rights and obligations which Nisiots consider to be the most important and profound aspect of the relationship between the generations (1976: 21).

An analysis of the environment's salient features leads Kenna to an examination of the reciprocal relationship between the structuring of kinship and territory. The physical environment is endowed with meaning and becomes an inseparable part of culture. Herzfeld has likewise shown how the contestation of history is played out in the Greek landscape, so that the physical topos embodies the paradoxes and contradictions of a social landscape. In the same way, he analyses the "tropological struggle over the penetration and protection of various kinds of space: individual, household, monumental" (1991: 40). Similarly, Stewart has demonstrated how the εξωτικά, or spirits that cluster around marginal areas of the Naxiot physical environment,

emerge "as elements of a collective Greek cognitive cartography" (1991: xv). Finally, in her study of daily domestic ritual and economic life in the Zarakas region of the eastern Peloponnese, Hart has elucidated the constitutive characteristics of the landscape in Orthodox practice and theology (1992). The common threads running through such anthropological research are twofold: a shared preoccupation with the diverse ways by which the environment is textualized into a landscape, and the manner in which it interacts with other cultural formations such as the Church, or the institutions of the nation-state. Lastly, these studies share an interest in the reciprocal processes through which place and identity are constructed.

Building upon these insights, therefore, the present study of Papadiamantis' fiction has sought to analyse the different ways in which landscapes are "read" by the protagonists of his fiction according to the contexts which frame them. The thesis has attempted to show how, rather than evoking a purported and unassailable "reality", the texts are concerned with the interpretation of cultural constructions, and more specifically, with the signifying structures that underlie cultural landscapes. A literary typology is employed in numerous texts by Papadiamantis, thereby elucidating the process of interpretation which takes place as characters "decipher" their social environment. The protagonists are caught in a series of overlapping and conflicting contexts imposed by the state, the Church and the local community. Landscape becomes an intertextual site where an assemblage of "texts" vie against each other for supremacy. Frequently this confusion of contexts is expressed as a spatial and temporal disorientation.

As outlined in the thesis' introduction, the prevailing tendency among Papadiamantis' critics has been to view his literary output as biographical data, and thus to analyse it in terms of a mimetic theory of representation. In this way

the stories are scrutinized for their documentary validity and the emphasis is on the text's referentiality. On the one hand deprecators of Papadiamantis' work have dismissed his fiction for its limited scope. At a time of radical social and political ferment in Greece, Papadiamantis - it is argued - chose to portray the circumscribed milieu of a provincial backwater (Skiathos). As Xenopoulos asserted [1933], in the eyes of many critics Papadiamantis was a writer μὲ στενὸν ὁρίζοντα, μὲ περιορισμένες ἰδέες, ξένος πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴ κίνηση καὶ τὰ μεγάλα προβλήματα τῆς ἐποχῆς μας (1979: 91). On the other hand, it is precisely this local, traditional Greek milieu, which Papadiamantis' champions have celebrated. During an epoch of widespread Western influences on Greek cultural and political life, Papadiamantis' oeuvre is seen as a determined effort to stave off foreign incursions. As Yannaras would have it, Papadiamantis represents in his insularity a lifeline thrown out to subsequent of Greek writers such as Kontoglou and Pentzikis (1992: 406-435).

Departing from these traditional views, this study has argued against the contention that Papadiamantis ignored the social issues of his day. A close reading of his fiction proves that, far from merely reflecting popular attitudes to such institutions as the Orthodox Church, or the Greek state, the texts construct multiple readings of them. In so doing they unveil the imagined, textual status of social formations such as the nation, which is often construed "as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent...political destiny" (Gellner 1991: 48-49).

Emphasis is placed throughout Papadiamantis' fiction on the prevalence and function of boundaries, as well as on the constructed or engineered nature of social identity. Indeed, identity - whether personal, ethnic, or national - is understood in the texts as being dependent upon the construction of interactional boundaries which establish oppositions between those within and those without. These boundaries are not frozen, but are reshaped by repeated

acts of interpretation. In this way, the texts explore "the tensions and ambivalence between different constructs of identity" (Zinovieff 1989: 2). There is an indissoluble relationship in this respect between the creation of boundaries and meaning, since, as Ardener remarks: "once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer merely a neutral backcloth (1993: 12).

Ironically, the present study has sought to show how Papadiamantis' stories deflate many of the crude classifications within which his fiction is itself consigned. As a metaphor, boundaries have "ramifying implications" (Tanner 1987: 206). Above all, boundaries give rise to transgressive acts:

> For boundaries create smuggling, boundaries of every kind - national, physical, conceptual - and man, that moving system of penetrable surfaces, and gaps, that 'half-open being', is a perpetual smuggler in every realm (Tanner 1987: 206).

Papadiamantis' texts could be said to explore this notion of smuggling; of man as "a continual synaptic drama" (Tanner 1987: 207). The smuggling in this sense extends from the physical breaching of fences, windows and doors, to the transgression of national frontiers and acts of ocular trespass. On the threshold of the twentieth century Papadiamantis' texts explore how the past is smuggled across the borders of the present. Correspondingly, it is precisely those texts which are set in Skiathos, then on the outer fringes of the Greek state, which are more preoccupied with the mechanics of state bureaucracy. Contrary to Fredrick Barth's assertion that the ethnic boundary "defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969: 15), Papadiamantis' fiction intimates that the opposite is true: boundaries both shape, and are shaped in turn by "the cultural stuff" they enclose.

The present thesis thus borrows extensively from Geertz' interpretive anthropology, as well as from the new cultural geography which emerged in the late 1980s as a development of human geography. While the chief purpose of the study has been to undertake a detailed contextual reading of Papadiamantis' texts, it has also sought to shed light on the spatial tropes which underlie many new theoretical approaches, where "theorists are using the language and experience of space to build their arguments and to construct their political approaches" (Kirby 1993: 179). At the same time, the interpretation of culture as an assemblage of texts provides a fresh approach to comparative literary studies and opens the way for broader discussions about "the relationship between literature and other modes of ordering and representing experience" (Culler 1981: 211). Strangely, while critics of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greek prose fiction have repeatedly stressed the importance of place in the literature of the period, they have rarely related this literary space to a broader appreciation of landscape as a cultural product. This thesis has attempted to reassert the centrality of landscape, and more broadly of geography, as a frequently neglected mode of ordering experience.

If culture is defined provisionally as "the medium through which people transform the mundane phenomena of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give a meaning and attach a value" (Jackson 1992: 48), then Papadiamantis' texts explore the way his own society invested the environment and human actions with meaning, and in the process constructed texts. Texts in this sense are cultural inventions, and they are created, in part, through the process of interpretation. As Cohen observes, social activity "does not contain meaning intrinsically, rather it is found to be meaningful through acts of interpretation" (1985: 17).

As a final example of Papadiamantis' concern with society's textual practices, an analysis might be made of the multiple connotations of the colour red in *Θέρος-Ἔρος*. The reader notes, for example, that the landscape appears blood-red from the rich carpet of poppies and abundance of red mushrooms that strew the fields (II.187.4-11). At the same time, the environment is quite literally inscribed with symbolic meaning, as a red banner (κόκκινον σῆμα II.187.31) is flying over the field warden's hut, on a hill beside the walled property. Inside the enclosure, Stathakis is bending down to pick an artichoke, when he discovers Kostis' letter, which is written on red paper (ἐπὶ κομψοῦ κοκκινωποῦ χάρτου γεγραμμένον II.190.15). The letter is thus symbolically picked - or harvested, as the title *Θέρος-Ἔρος* implies - from the ground, like the rose which adorns Kostis' buttonhole, or the bouquet he carries in his hand. In fact, the landscape yields up Kostis' red letter in much the same way as it yields up all the other plants harvested from the countryside in the course of the narrative: shoots from vineyards, medicinal herbs, a stalk of wild grain, roses and lilies, wild grape vines and a white rose.

A parallel is thus drawn between Kostis' red letter, and the red hue of the landscape which proclaims, as the narrator asserts, τὴν ὑπεραιμίαν τοῦ ἔαρος (II.187.9). Like the stylized letter, the landscape is inscribed with meaning and characterized by an equally formal deployment of space, epitomized by the walled property. The bounded environment is shaped by social conventions, just as Kostis' epistle conforms to poetic conventions. The landscape and the letter reflect what the narrator in *Οἱ Κουκοπαντρειές* calls τοὺς γραπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγράφους κανονισμούς (III.572.11-12).

The blood-red landscape presages all the other reds that are to follow in the narrative: Mati's hair resembles a reddish-brown cloud (ὡς ἐρυθραινόμενον νέφος II.184.33-34), in his billet-doux Kostis conventionally alludes to her ruby lips (II.194.8), while the girl's blushing cheeks mirror

the red letter (II.190.7). Later, the sorceress discerns a red mark in a pierced egg (τὸ κοκκινάδι II.199.3), which portends resistance, and the wild goat-herd's eyelids are a reddened colour (μὲ κοκκινισμένα τὰ βλέφαρα II.195.18). In her struggle with the herder, Mati's long-sleeved chemise is stained with blood (II.208.3-4). Finally, in a fitting conclusion to a story which begins in a blood-red landscape, the mountain-dweller himself falls to the ground, μὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αἱματωμένην (II.207.27), after having been hit with an axe by Kostis.

If the textual status of landscape is underlined in *Θέρος-Ἔρος* through its implicit correspondence with written language and with the process of reading, the ambivalent but pervasive symbol of red also explores what could be called the "textual construction of reality" (cf. Atkinson 1992). On the one hand the narrative plays with the multiple associations of red which evokes danger, passion, blood. On the other hand, emphasis is placed on the different contexts (both verbal and non-verbal) within which this symbolism is read. *Θέρος-Ἔρος* intimates that it is impossible to consider a natural phenomenon - be it the human body, or even the earth - without evoking a moral system.[3] By highlighting colour as a social code, Papadiamantis' narratives demonstrate how the symbolism inscribed in a literary text - in this case Kostis' red letter - cannot be severed from the social and cultural contexts from which it derives. In the same way, the κλειστός κόσμος - to use Dimaras' phrase - of Captain Limberios' walled property, cannot exclude the surrounding landscape which englobes it. In short, Papadiamantis' stories emphasize the engineering or invention of social institutions (cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1993). They suggest a relationship between communal imaginings, or collective acts of authorship, and the process of literary creation. Just as the reader

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3. Thus, in *Φτωχὸς Ἅγιος* the red-stained earth marks the spot of the anonymous saint's martyrdom and serves as a geographic, historical and moral reference point.

participates in the construction of a literary text's meaning, so, Papadiamantis' fiction implies, landscape itself, no less than time or money, assumes its value through repeated acts of interpretation.

It must be acknowledged, by way of a conclusion, that this thesis itself constructs one possible reading of Papadiamantis' texts; and one which is by no means exhaustive. More broadly, however, the study attempts to open the way for further comparative analyses of authors such as Vizyinos, whose fiction demonstrates similar preoccupations with contested landscapes and with the boundaries upon "which personal and national identities depend" (Beaton 1988b: xiv). During the four decades from 1880 to 1922 considerable emphasis was placed on the geographical definition of the nation. The Greek state's frontiers were re-drawn on four occasions in 1881, 1913, 1920 and 1923. Many writers of the time, such as Kondylakis, Papadiamantis and Karkavitsas, situated their fiction on the borders of the Greek state, while others, such as Vizyinos, cast their stories in the territory beyond the Greek frontier. In each of these writers importance is assigned to landscape in the construction of national identity, while their work both responds to, and explores, public conceptions of the nation.[4] The present study should therefore be seen as a specific contribution towards a more inclusive analysis of a Greek frontier literature.

4.Although not in terms of landscape, Karkavitsas' *'Ο 'Αρχαιολόγος* [1904] is a good example of a text which explores, but in the final analysis falls victim to the demands of a nationalist discourse. As Politi observes: "*O Arheológos* is a text inscribed by the ideological contradiction of the historical/nationalist consciousness...it is because of this contradiction, which is reproduced in the text, that the author's intentions of freeing the Greek subject from paralysing representation are subverted" (1988: 44).

APPENDIX

MAPS OF SKIATHOS

Maps of Skiathos have frequently been appended to critical editions of Papadiamantis' work and scholarly reviews. As outlined in the introductory chapter to this thesis, Merlier was the first to include a map of the island in his selection of translated stories [1934] - a map which has recently been republished by Dimitrakopoulos in his volume of photographs from the Merlier archive [1991]. Other maps were included by Valetas [1940] and Erselman [1954] in their respective studies, by Politis in his edition of *Βαρδιάνος στὰ σπόρκα* [1968], as well as in the Astir collection of Papadiamantis stories for children [1973],[1] in Frangoulas' *Νοσταλγικὸς Περίπατος στὸ Νησὶ τῶν Δύο Ἀλέξανδρων τὴ Σκίαθο* [1975], and finally in the volume of stories translated by Constantinides [1987]. These are appended chronologically below.

The maps all share certain common features, the most conspicuous being their restricted geographical scope. None of the maps place Skiathos in the wider context of national territories, with the qualified exceptions of figure 2, which shows part of the Thessalian coastline, and figure 7, where an inset map sketches the Athonite peninsular, as well as the Thessalian and Turkish coastlines. The maps are boxed in both literally and figuratively, severed from any wider geographical context.

If they are suspended geographically, the maps do not situate the island in any historical framework. While figure 1 is dated 1932, and figure 3 1953, none of the other maps refer to any explicit chronology.[2] Skiathos is implicitly

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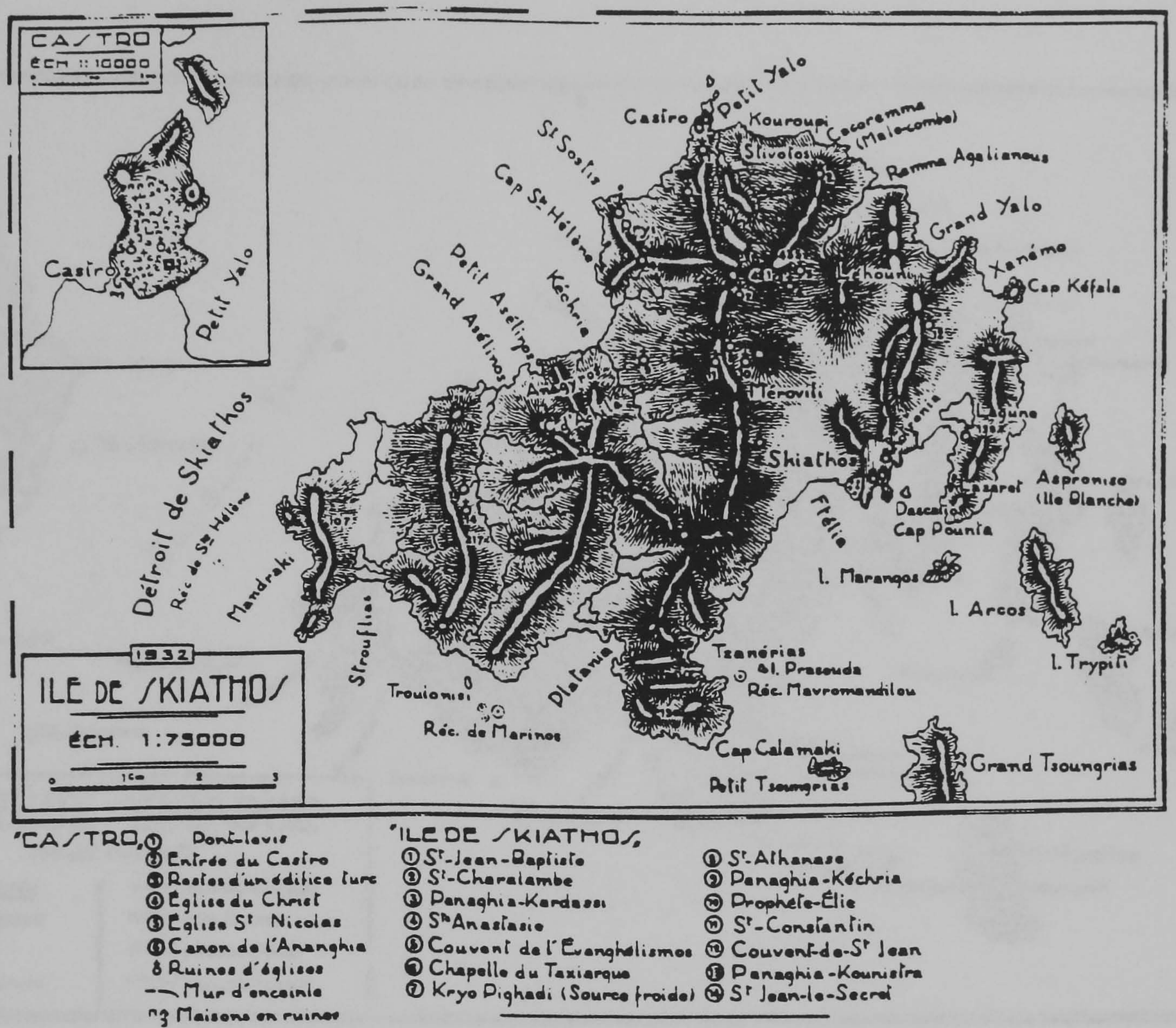
1. The same map of Skiathos is appended to the Moraïtidis collected stories, which are also published by Astir.
2. As Denis Wood observes in his analysis of maps as temporal codes, the inscription of dates on maps are "gestures [which] have more to do with the status of the map as a document than with any issue of *map time*" (1993: 125).

hedged off from the vicissitudes of historical change and fixed in a mythic time.

The mythic aspects of the maps are accentuated by the highly selective details included. In figure 5, for example, the folkloric characteristics of the representation are evident in the emblems of the ships, fish and compass. On the one hand, the maps purport to mirror the topography inscribed in Papadiamantis' texts and act as "a transparent opening to the world" of his fiction.[3] On the other hand, they intimate that Papadiamantis' narratives unfold in a real, verifiable location and are presented as geographical records. This ambiguity is underlined in figures 1, 2 and 3 which are replete with scales, keys and lists of locations. In the case of figure 2, which is glossed as a tourist map, land contours are also marked.

The selected details pictured on these maps point to the arbitrary character of their representations, exposing what Brian Harley calls cartography's "sly rhetoric of neutrality" (1992: 247). Embedded as they are in literary texts, the maps allege to serve the texts. In fact, the opposite is the case. The maps impose a frame within which the texts are then read, reinforcing the reader's presumptions about Papadiamantis' hermeticism.

3.H.G. Blocker, quoted in Harley (1992: 233).



'CASTRO,

① Pont-levis
② Entrée du Castro
③ Restes d'un édifice turc
④ Église du Christ
⑤ Église St Nicolas
⑥ Canon de l'Ananghia
8 Ruines d'églises
—— Mur d'enceinte
ⁿ3 Maisons en ruines

'ILE DE SKIATHOS,

① St-Jean-Baptiste
② St-Charalambe
③ Panaghia-Kardassi
④ Ste Anastasie
⑤ Couvent de l'Evanghélismos
⑥ Chapelle du Taxiarque
⑦ Kryo Pighadi (Source froide)
⑧ St-Athanase
⑨ Panaghia-Kéchria
⑩ Prophète-Élie
⑪ St-Constantin
⑫ Couvent-de-St Jean
⑬ Panaghia-Kounistra
⑭ St Jean-le-Secret

Figure 1.

(1934)
O.Merlier *Skiathos île grecque: nouvelles par A. Papadiamantis*. Paris: Belles-Lettres.

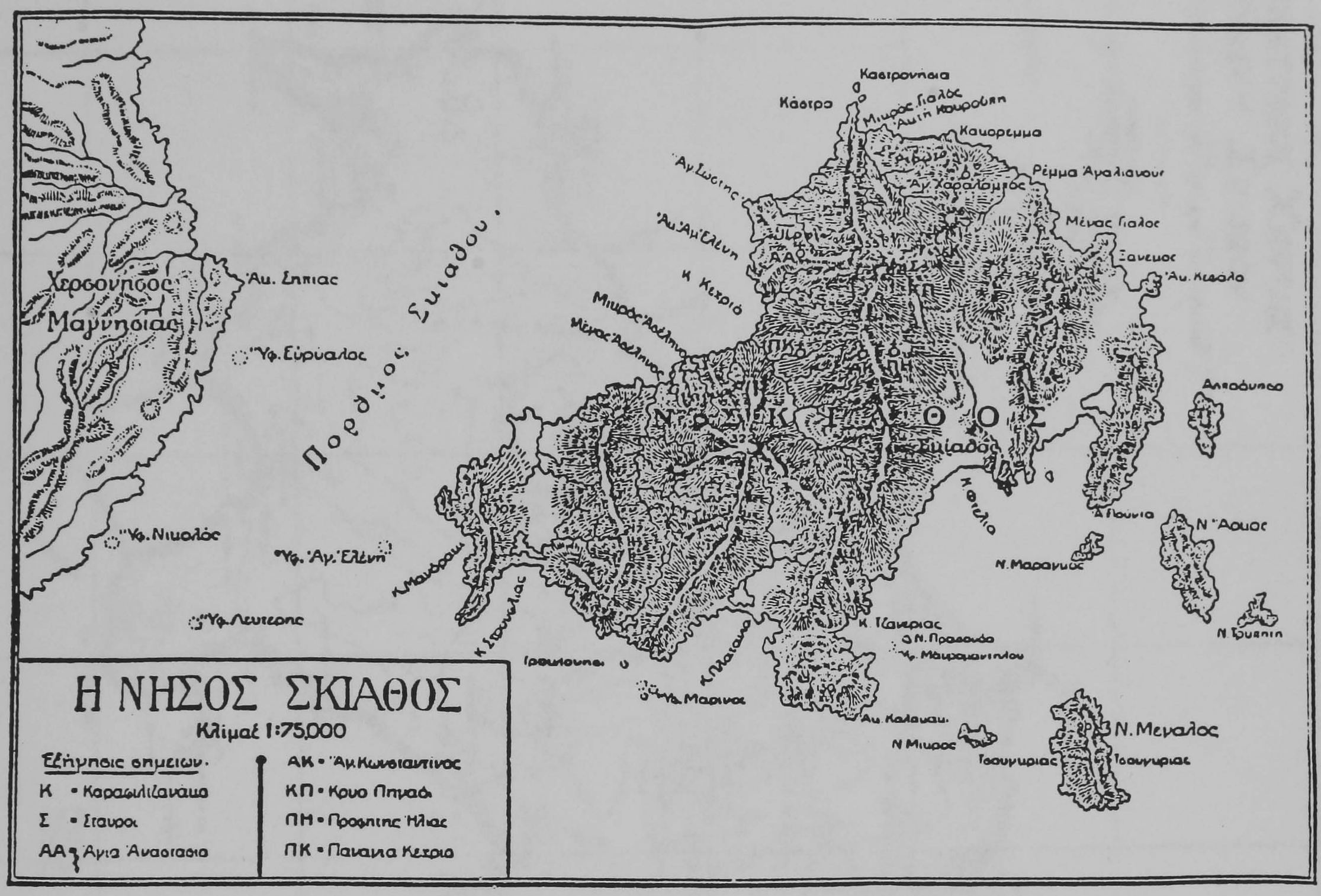


Figure 2.

(1940)
Yeoryios Valetas *Παπαδιαμάντης. η ζωή, το έργο, η εποχή του.* Mytilini.

ΤΟΥΡΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΝΗΣΟΥ ΣΚΙΑΘΟΥ

1000 500 0 1000 2000 3000 μέτρα

ΥΛΟΜΗΝΗΜΑ

- Ὑγρομετρικαὶ καμπύλαι ἀνὰ 50 μ.
- Μονοπάτι
- Ῥεματιά
- Βραχώδης Παραλία
- Ἄμμουδιά
- Πηγή
- Μοναστήρι
- Νεκροταφεῖον
- Ἐξωκκλήσι
- Ἐκκλησάκι
- Ἀνεμογεννήτρια
- Ἐρείπιον
- Φάροι φανοί

Συνετάχθη ὑπὸ Α. ΕΡΣΕΛΜΑΝ
Αὐγουστος 1953

Figure 3
(1954)
A Erselman

ΝΗΣΟΣ ΣΚΙΑΘΟΣ

Figure 4.

(1968)
A. Papadiamantis *Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα.*
Edited by L. Politis. Athens: Galaxia.

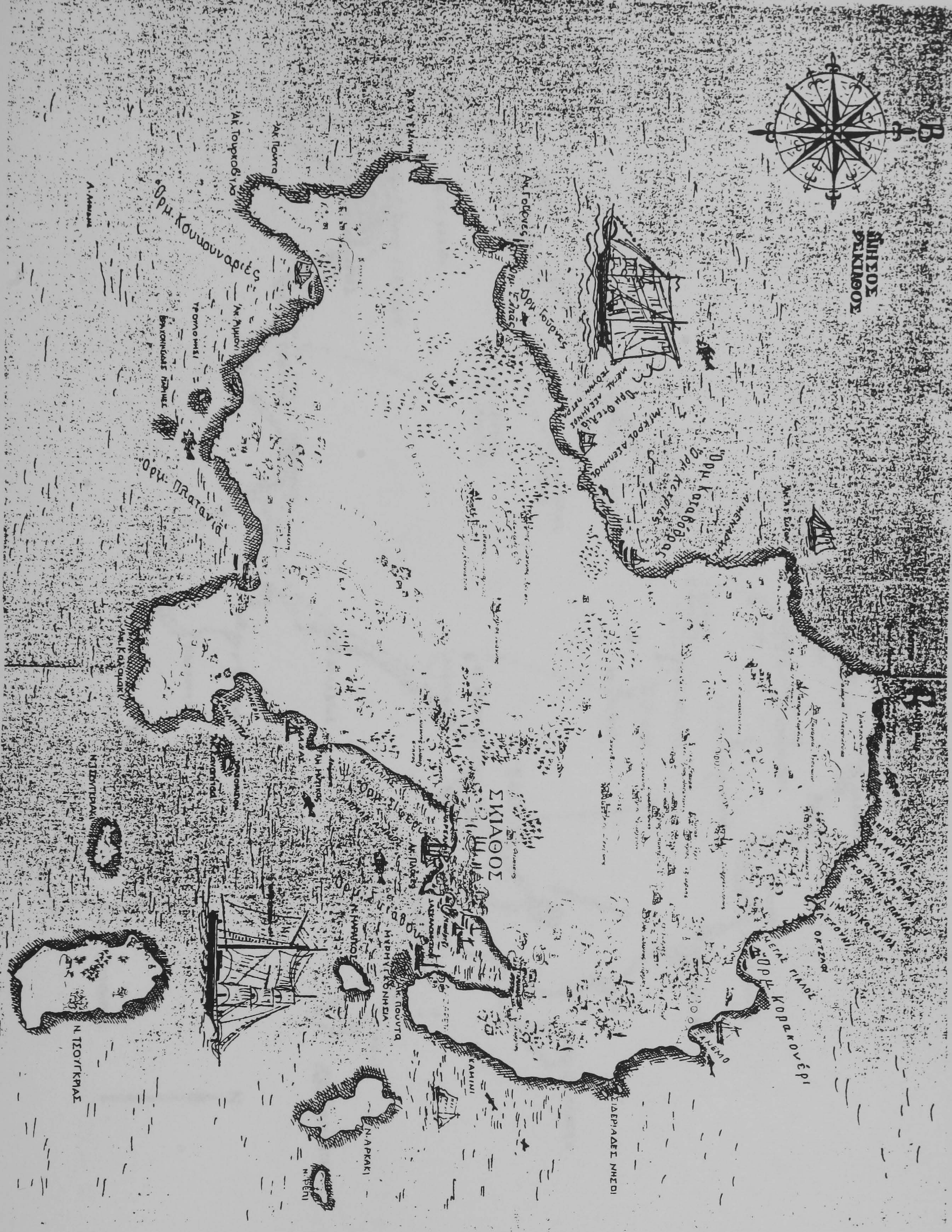


Figure 5.

(1973)
Παπαδιαμάντη Άπαντα τα Παιδικά.
Foreword by I.M. Panayiotopoulos.
Athens: Astir.

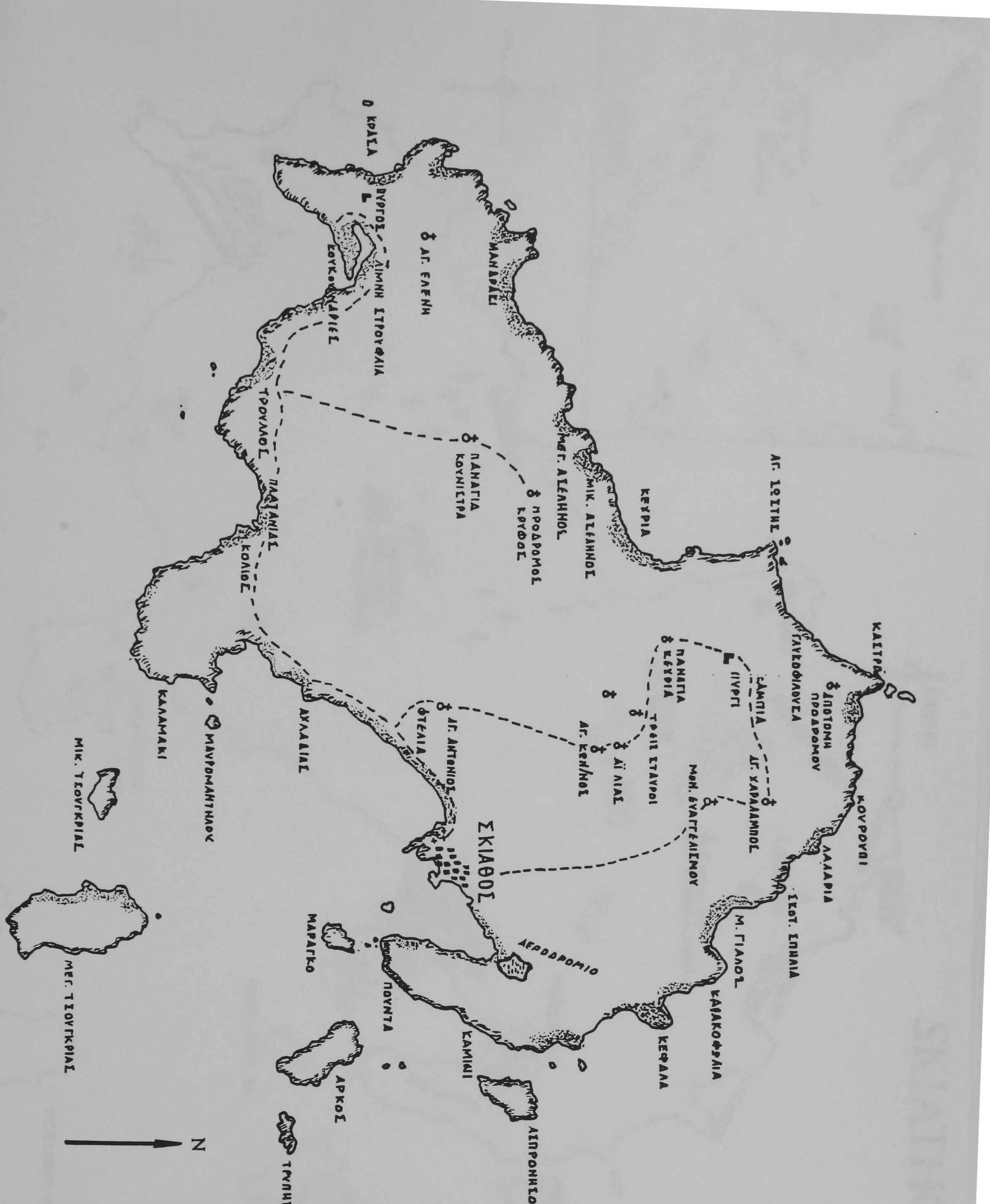


Figure 6.

(1975)
I.N. Frangoulas *Νοσταλγικός περίπατος στο νησί των δύο Αλεξάνδρων τη Σκιάθω*. Athens: Domos.

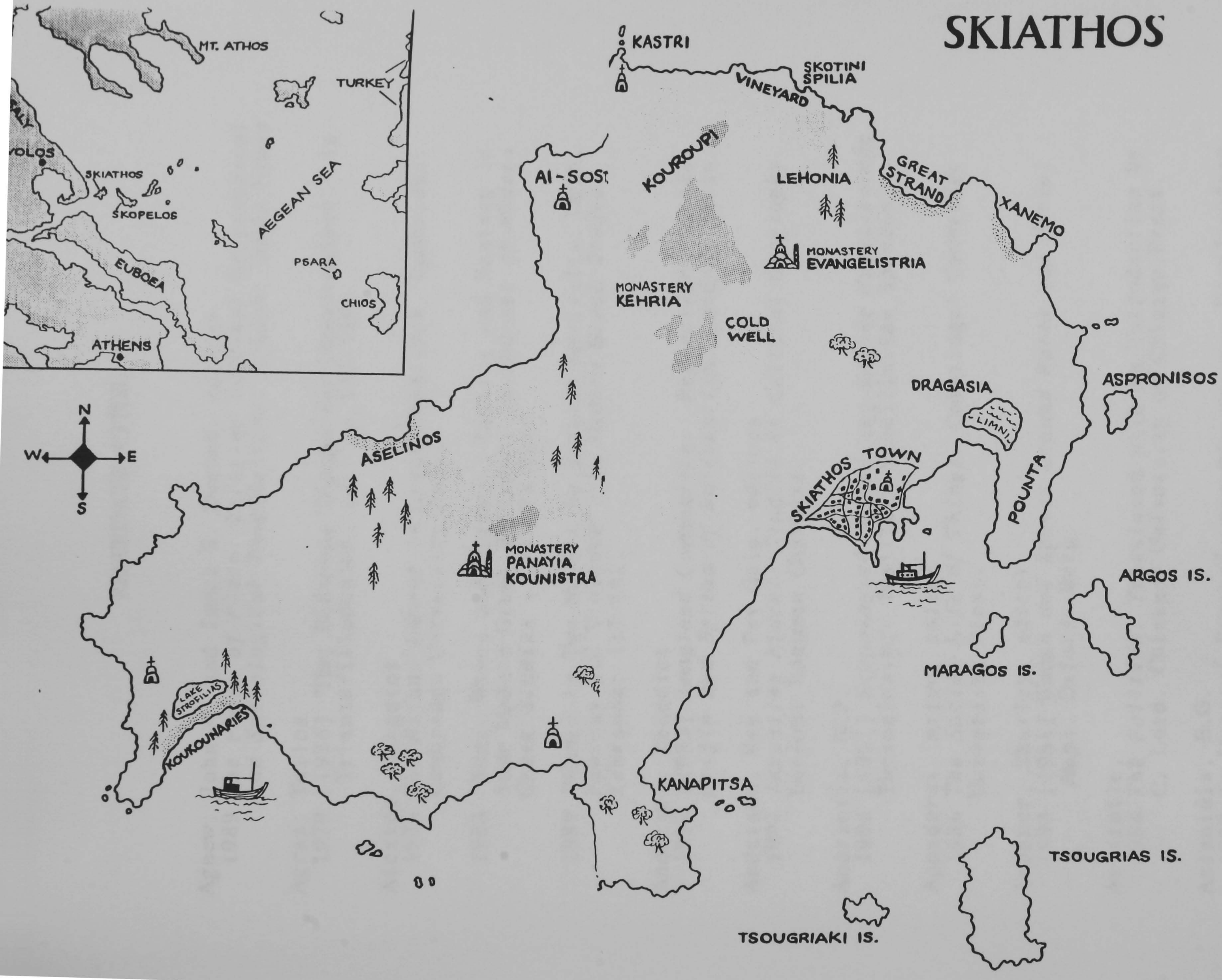


Figure 7.

(1987) A. Papadiamantis *Tales from a Greek Island.* Translated by E. Constantinides. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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